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THE SALISHAN TRIBES OF THE WESTERN PLATEAUS

BY

JAMES A. TEIT

EDITED BY

FRANZ BOAS

PREFACE

The following papers contain descriptions of the Salishan tribes of the interior, excepting the Middle Columbia tribe.[1]

The material presented here was collected by Mr. James A. Teit in 1904, 1908, and 1909 while he was traveling over British Columbia and the States of Washington and Montana for the purpose of determining the distribution of Salishan dialects and the general movements of tribes so far as these could be ascertained by tradition.

This investigation was made possible by the generosity of Mr. Homer E. Sargent, of Pasadena, Calif., who for many years defrayed all the very considerable expenses of Mr. Teit's work.

Mr. Teit was thoroughly conversant with the Thompson Indians, among whom he lived for a great many years. This facilitated his investigations considerably. It will be understood that the information given here is almost entirely based upon questioning of the Indians. The ancient customs have disappeared to such an extent that direct observation is impossible. The historical data contained in the following account must also be considered in this light. They are the records of oral tradition among the Indians and not based on documentary evidence.

On account of Mr. Teit's intimate knowledge of the Thompson tribe, it is natural that his inquiries were very largely guided by what he knew about the customs of that tribe. It is not unlikely that this may have colored, to a certain extent, the descriptions. I doubt particularly whether the negative statements contained in his report can always be taken as conclusive, because the question whether a certain custom is in vogue may be misunderstood and similar customs may have existed. Mr. Teit's statements of opinion must be taken as those of his informants, not his own, unless expressly so qualified.

The material here presented has been edited from a manuscript written by Mr. Teit and from notes scattered over many years of correspondence.

Mr. Teit's spelling of native words is not quite certain; particularly the distinction between *k* and *q*; *hw*, *x* and *x*, *tl* and *l* is uncertain. The variability of vowels probably represents real differences.

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[1] A description of this tribe has been published in the Anthropological Publications of the University of Washington, vol. II, No. 4.

The following is an explanation of the symbols used:

Vowels have their continental values.

è	open e, as in "fell."
ò	open o, nearly as in German "voll."
ᴇ	obscure vowel, as e in "flower."
tł	affricative.
ł	voiceless *l*.
q	velar *k*.
c	English *sh*.
x	medial palatal continuant, corresponding in position to *k*.
x̣	velar continuant, corresponding in position to *q*.
ʼ	glottal stop.

Special attention is called to the use of *x* and *x̣* which has been changed from earlier usage to conform with the system now generally employed.

Mr. Teit uses the period (.) to indicate in some cases a glottal stop, in others strong voicing.

Dr. Gladys Reichard had the kindness to revise with native informants all Indian words in the chapter on the Coeur d'Alêne. She was able to identify most of the terms. The spelling of Indian words in this chapter is, therefore, reliable, except in the case of a few words that could not be identified and which are marked with a query.

Franz Boas.

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THE SALISHAN TRIBES OF THE WESTERN PLATEAUS

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THE COEUR D'ALÊNE[a]

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

Habitat and Boundaries.—The country occupied by the Coeur d'Alêne was almost entirely within what is now the State of Idaho. A small part extended into Washington. They held all the headwaters of Spokane River from a little above Spokane Falls to the sources, including Coeur d'Alêne Lake and all its tributaries. To the southeast their territory extended across the head of the Clearwater, a tributary of the Snake River. Their eastern boundaries were the Coeur d'Alêne and Bitter Root Mountains. Generally speaking, their country is mountainous and more or less heavily forested, with more rain and snowfall than the territories of the surrounding tribes. The western part, around De Smet, Hangman's Creek, Tekoa, Farmington, and toward Spokane Falls, is drier and comparatively flat, open, and well grassed. In the central part are many navigable waterways.

On three sides tribes of the Flathead group were neighbors of the Coeur d'Alêne—the Spokane to the west, the Kalispel to the north, and the Pend d'Oreilles to the east. On the south their neighbors were the Nez Percé and Palous; but, as the latter are considered comparatively new arrivals, in olden times probably they bordered only on the Nez Percé. It seems likely that there was a narrow strip of neutral country between the two tribes, used to some extent by both in times of peace. For many years the tribe has been on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation in Idaho, which is located near the southeastern border of their former territory.

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[a] The native names in this section were revised with the help of natives by Dr. Gladys Reichard. A few words that could not be identified are marked with a question mark. Mr. Teit's remarks on the Coeur d'Alêne refer to the year 1904.

Divisions, Bands, Villages.—The grouping of the Coeur d'Alêne into divisions and bands is fairly clear. To judge from the number of chiefs and by information obtained from various individuals, the bands were grouped into three, possibly four, units corresponding to divisions of the tribe. These were—

1. Coeur d'Alêne Lake and Spokane River (possibly Spokane River may have been a separate unit).
2. Coeur d'Alêne River.
3. San Joe (or St. Joseph) River.

It seems that the foot of Coeur d'Alêne Lake, where the head chief lived, was the headquarters of the tribe; but this is not quite sure. Some informants, however, consider it the old, traditional seat. I obtained the following list of villages, which were the permanent wintering places of the tribe immediately before the time when they became regular buffalo hunters, or at least before they were first decimated by smallpox. Some camps are said to have had few lodges (perhaps three or four families), and others had many. The largest camps are credited with a winter population of about 300. The population of the various camps fluctuated a little in different winters. The number of camps belonging to each band is not quite certain. In most cases the band lived in a single camp, forming a single village community; but in some cases it had besides the main camp one or two small outlying ones, as among the Thompson Indians and other tribes of this region.

Villages of St. Joe River division

	Location
1. *sti'qʷtakscən* (?)	Near the mouth of St. Joe River, on the river, or near by on the lake.
2. *tolti'ctacscən*	Probably on the lake, near the last named, on the north or east side, not far from the mouth of the river.
3. *stotsEtä'wxs*	On St. Joe River, at the place now called Fish Trap by the whites.
4. *tcat'owe'calqs*	On St. Joe River a little above the preceding.
5. *stcü'mixən* ("confluence")	At the confluence of the St. Joe and St. Maries Rivers.
6. *ts'z.olks* (?)	On upper Hangman's River, at a spring near the foot of the hill just south of De Smet.

There were no permanent villages or winter camps on St. Maries (or St. Mary's) River, none at *tcu'tkolat* (Chatcolet of the whites), and none at *nlpo'səntsən* (Tekoa of the whites). These places were all summer camps. The Indians had a large fish trap near Tekoa long ago.

Coeur d'Alêne River Division

	Location
1. *tcla'tcalxʷ*	On Coeur d'Alêne Lake, close to the mouth of Coeur d'Alêne River.
2. *gwa'lit* (probably "black pines").	Near the lake and close to Harrison.
3. *alqwa'rit*	At Harrison.
4. *ne'atsqa'χstEm*	On Coeur d'Alêne River a little above the preceding.
5. *ndst'a'qwast*	At Black Lake, at a tributary river and lake here.
6. *gogole'tēlps* ("black pines," *Pinus contorta*).	A little above No. 5.
7. *sma'qEqEn*	At Medimont.
8. *hinsa'lut*	On Coeur d'Alêne River, a little above No. 7.
9. *sEncā'lEmānts*	A little above No. 8.
10. *nalstqā'lEwEn*	A little above No. 9.
11. *sk'wat'a'*	At old mission.

A band of Indians also made their headquarters near Wardner.

Coeur d'Alêne Lake and Spokane River Division

	Location
1. *ni'a'q'En*	Hayden Lake, north of Coeur d'Alêne Lake
2. *tcila'tcElitcEmEn*	Halfway down Coeur d'Alêne Lake, on the east side.
3. *ntc'Emqa'lnqwa* (probably "head").	At Coeur d'Alêne City.
4. *smElElc'na*	Near No. 3, on the same side.
5. *tp'ō'Enē'lpEm*	Very near No. 4, on the same side.
6. *ncā'rEpt*	A little below No. 4.
7. *stcatkwe'i*	A little below No. 6
8. *q'ami'len* ("throat," "gorge").	At Post Falls.
9. *hinsaq'e'lpEns*	About 1 mile above the Spokane bridge.
10. *ne'Ewa'calqs*	A little below No. 9.
11. *ntsetsakwolsa'ko* (?)	On Tamarack Creek, toward the mountains.
12. *nesEwa'Ewe*	On the river, a little below the last two.
13. *nesli'χum*	A little below No. 12.
14. *tcanakwā'kEn* (?)	A little below No. 13.
15. *mu'lc* (probably means "cottonwood").	At Green Acres.
16. *tcatenwa'χelpEm*	A short distance below Green Acres, and about 20 miles above Spokane City.

No. 16 was the last village of the Coeur d'Alêne on Spokane River. A few miles below was the boundary between the Coeur d'Alêne and the Spokane. The latter, however, did not reach much above Spokane Falls (or City).

Population.—The Coeur d'Alêne claim to have been very numerous before the first appearance of smallpox among them; but they have no definite idea of their numbers, which they place at from 2,000 to 5,000. Judging from the number of their winter camps or villages, the population may have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Smallpox twice attacked the tribe—first, it is said, about 1831 or 1832; and again about 1850. Toll was taken of every camp, and some camps were almost completely wiped out. The report of the United States Indian Department for 1905 gives the number of Coeur d'Alêne as 494, all on the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation. There were also 91 Upper and Middle Spokan with them on the reserve.

Migrations.—There is no record of any migrations. According to tradition, the tribe has always been in its recent habitat.

Intercourse and Intermarriage.—Intercourse was chiefly with the Spokan, and to a less extent with the Pend d'Oreilles and Nez Percé. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago they seldom intermarried with other tribes, and what little intermarriage occurred was with Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé. They say the first intermarriage with Kalispel was not before 1840. After the tribe began to make annual journeys to the Flathead country for buffalo hunting intermarriage became more frequent with Pend d'Oreilles, and some took place also with Flathead and Kalispel. In later times there were a few intermarriages with Colville, Sanpoil, and Palous, but none at any time with Columbia, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Shoshoni (excepting slave marriages), Kutenai, and other tribes. The introduction of the horse facilitated intermarriage with Salish tribes to the west, north, and east. Since the tribe has been on their reservation intercourse has been almost entirely with the Spokan. Intermarriage with whites was never very common, and none occurred with Negroes and Chinese. There are probably fewer mixed-bloods among the Coeur d'Alêne than among the surrounding tribes. Long ago there were a few slave women in the tribe, chiefly Shoshoni from the south; but it is not likely that much foreign blood has been introduced from this source.

Mental and Physical Traits.—The Coeur d'Alêne differ somewhat in appearance from the surrounding tribes. They are of fair stature, the men probably averaging about 169 centimeters, few being very tall or very short. They appear to be more heavily built than the Spokan and Okanagon, and to have rather large heads and heavy faces. In disposition they seem to be more serious and reserved than some of the neighboring tribes. They pay much attention to religious practices, and have been considered since early times as a tribe possessing a rather high standard of morals.

II. MANUFACTURES

Work in Stone.—Stone of many kinds, intended for tools, was cut with quartz crystals. Arrow smoothers, generally made of sandstone or other coarse-grained stone, were also cut with crystals. Sandstone was used for grinding and sharpening bone, antler, and stone, and also for cutting some of the finer-grained stones. Adze blades and chisel blades were made of fine-grained hard stones of several colors, and were cut and sharpened with quartz crystals and grit stone. They were all, or nearly all, of short type. However, stone adzes and chisels were not much used. It seems that no long celts, like those of the Lillooet, Thompson, and Columbia, were made or used. Adzes were hafted in the same way as among the Upper Thompson[1] and other tribes. It seems that adzes and chisels were more commonly made of antler. Stone hand hammers and pestles were made of river bowlders selected for size and shape to save labor. They were worked down by pecking with the edges of hard unworked stones or river bowlders selected for hardness and for handiness of shape and weight. The pecking was first done in rings[2] parallel to one another or in spirals, and then the intervening ridges were battered down, the process being repeated until the desired size and shape were attained. They were finished by smoothing with grit stone.

Pestles were conoid in shape. They had a rather small and almost flat base, and tapered gradually to the head which was often more or less pointed. A few had heads carved to represent animals, or had simple rim enlargements at the head. They were of two sizes—short ones, about 12 or 15 cm. in length, for use in one hand;[3] and long ones, up to double that length, for use in both hands.[4]

Hand hammers were of about the same length as the short pestles, but varied in size and shape. They were round, and usually had wide, deep striking heads and well-defined tops, like some of those used by the Thompson Indians and Nez Percé.[5] Most tops were flat; but some were pointed or rounded, and others hat shaped.

Stone mauls were made, some of which were of the type figured by Wissler for the Blackfoot.[6] Others were shaped somewhat like stone hammers; but they had deeper, narrower bases, more or less square or flattened, and the handles were longer and thinner than hammer handles. Some of them may have resembled the flat-sided hammer of the Nez Percé,[7] but were not so short and thick, while others may have more nearly resembled wooden mauls or some stone clubs of the Thompson Indians.[8] In these mauls the side of the base was the striking surface, instead of the bottom, as in hammers. Both hammers and mauls were employed in driving wedges and stakes. A heavier maul wielded with both hands was in use. It consisted of a bowlder fastened with withes or twine to a short wooden handle, and was used for driving larger stakes, as in fish weirs. Possibly some of the stones were grooved; others had hide shrunk over the handles. These may have resembled Blackfoot mauls,[9] but some seem to have been heavier and differently hafted.

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[1] *a*, fig. 123.

[2] See Yakima, *i*, fig. 25.

[3] See Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 8, No. 8; compare Yakima, *i*, fig. 21, 22.

[4] See Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 8, Nos. 6, 7; compare Yakima, *i*, figs. 29–36.

[5] *a*, fig. 120; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 8, No. 10; Yakima, *i*, fig. 27.

[6] *c*, fig. 1.

[7] *b*, pl. 8, No. 9.

[8] *a*, fig. 250.

It seems that no stone mortars were made or used, excepting perhaps a few small shallow ones, resembling dishes, for paint. They were made of steatite and other soft stone, and it seems were not at all common.

Files of fine-grained stone were used in smoothing and polishing bone, antler, and wood. Arrowheads, spearpoints, knife and other blades, borers or perforators and skin grainers were flaked with flakers of deer and elk bone. The small tines of antlers were rarely used as flakers. The process of flaking was the same as that described for the Thompson and Nez Percé.[10] Stones for arrowheads and other flaked instruments were procured near *tca'tkola't* and in other parts of the country. The common colors were black, white, and yellow; but some stones were reddish, mottled, and other colors. Pipes were of soapstone. The stone was cut with quartz crystals, arrowstones or animal's teeth, filed into shape with knives and files, and drilled with perforators.[11] Flaked stone knives with crooked points were in use, and seem to have been similar to those of the Thompson.[12] Flat stones were used as anvils. Small flaked and notched stones were used as rasps and planers for smoothing arrowshafts and rawhide thongs. (See fig. 15, p. 218.)[13]

Work in Bone, Wood, Antler.—Wedges for splitting wood were made of deer and elk antler and of hard wood. The wood was bound around the top with bark or twine to prevent fraying and splitting. Chisels for felling trees and cutting wood were made of the basal parts of the antler. The points of some were rounded, and of others nearly square. All were filed to a sharp edge on one side.[14] Nearly all sharpening and smoothing of bone and antler were done with grit stone of different textures of grain. Stone knives and chisels were hafted with antler and wood. Arrow flakers have already been mentioned. Wooden mallets, of square cross section of striking head, like some of those made of stone, but longer and thicker, were sometimes used for driving stakes or wedges,[15] but stone hand hammers were probably more frequently used for this purpose. Some mallets were made of the basal parts of elk antlers, a tine serving as a handle.[16] Beaver-tooth knives were used for incising on antler, bone, wood, and soft stone; and stone[17] knives, generally with crooked points, for incising on antler, bone, and wood. Both kinds of knives were used for cutting hide and dressed skin. Flensing knives had leaf-shaped blades of arrowstone.[18] A few knives and spear points of bone and antler were used. Bark was cut with knives and antler chisels. Peelers of antler and wood were employed for removing bark from trees,[19] and some bone sap scrapers were in use. Mortars, it is said, were not used as much as among some tribes. A few were made of wood, and hide was sometimes shrunk over them. It seems they were of two shapes, circular and oblong, the former being the older type. The latter kind was probably similar to some used by the Nez Percé.[20] No mortars with handles were used. Horn spoons were made and shaped on molds of wood. Wooden spoons and wooden pestles were also made.

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[9] *c*, fig. 1 *a*.

[10] *a*, p. 182; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 184.

[11] See Thompson, *h*, fig. 352, *e*, *f*, *g*; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 23–25.

[12] *a*, figs. 125, 126; *h*, fig. 352 *d*.

[13] Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, No. 24.

[14] Thompson, *a*, fig. 119; Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 5, No. 7; Yakima, *i*, fig. 39.

[15] Field Museum 111957.

Paints and Dyes.—Paints of many colors were used, most of them made of minerals procured within the tribal territory. White consisted of a kind of white earth, and was used both dry and mixed with water. As among the Thompson, a gray paint was made by burning and pulverizing large bones of animals. The powder was mixed with water or grease. It was not much used. Red, yellow, and blue of various shades were obtained from earths in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and in later days also in the buffalo country east of the Rocky Mountains. They were used dry, and also mixed with grease or oil, water, and occasionally with thin glue. Black was made from a black earth resembling coal dust. Another black paint was powdered charcoal, used dry or mixed with grease or gum. This was applied to arrows, and was then generally mixed with gum or glue. Soot in its natural state was also used as a black paint. Another black paint, described as shiny, may have been plumbago.

Berry stains of various kinds were used as coloring material. The juices of some kinds of berries were also used as dyes. A light-blue paint was obtained by crushing and rubbing on the fresh flowers of the larkspur (*Delphinium* sp.). Algae growing in stagnant pools were rubbed on fresh and provided a green paint. One of the two best kinds of red paint obtainable was secured by buffalo-hunting parties from a cave underneath a cliff near Helena in the Flathead country. This was a famous place named *adpl yu'tsamεn* ("possessing red paint"). The paint from this place was very bright. The other paint was procured at a place about 10 miles below Rockford, and consisted of a red mud which was collected and kneaded into balls. When dry, it was heated over a fire. When cooked, it became brittle and on the slightest pressure turned into a fine powder. Nearly all kinds of mineral earths used as paints were also used as dyes, different shades of red, yellow, blue, and black being obtained from them. Some materials, such as grass and bark, were dyed black by being buried for a time in wet black loam. A common yellow dye was obtained by boiling the roots of the Oregon grape (*Berberis* sp.) and a common yellow or lemon colored dye was obtained by boiling wolf-moss (*Evernia vulpina*). This lichen was also used as a paint. It was dipped into cold water or applied to a damp surface. A reddish dye was obtained by boiling alder bark (*Alnus rubra*); and a green dye, from the leaves of the snowberry (*Symphoricarpus racemosus* Michx.).

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[16] See Lillooet, *k*, fig. 64 *b*, p. 203.

[17] Field Museum 111741.

[18] Yakima, *i*, fig. 6; Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 5, *b*; also Thompson, *h*, fig. 333 *b*.

[19] See Shuswap, *e*, fig. 235 *a*, *b*.

[20] *b*, pl. 6, No. 14.

PREPARATION OF SKINS.—The processes of dressing skins were similar to those practiced by the Thompson Indians.[31] Of old (also employed at the present day) the common method, especially for medium-sized skins, was to soak the skin in water for several days. It was then placed on a smooth log resting against a tree, as among the Thompson, and the flesh side scraped clean. It was then reversed, and the hair scraped off, along with the outer cuticle of the skin. Some people scraped the hair side first. The scrapers or fleshers used were the ulna of the deer and the rib bone of elk or horse.[32] The skin was again soaked for a short time, and then wrung by twisting with a short stick, as among the Thompson. It was then stretched on a frame of four poles with lacing, and pushed and rubbed with a long-handled grainer with a stone head, like those of the Thompson,[33] until dry and soft.

If to be smoked (and most skins were smoked), two methods were used. One was identical with the process of smoking among the Thompson Indians, the skin being spread over a framework of sticks above the smoke hole.[34] The other method was to fold the skin in the form of a conical bag, closed at the top. The edges were pinned together. A crossbar was placed inside near the closed end and a rope was tied to it for suspension. The skin was kept in shape by means of a number of braces and hoops placed inside. The small end was hung to the branch of a tree, beam, pole, or tripod overhead.[35] The lower edges of the skin touched the ground around the hole in which a fire was made. They were kept in place by small pegs—like a small tent. Sometimes, to prevent the escape of smoke, the skin, or part of it, was covered with a piece of canvas, blanket, or other old material. This process of smoking in time almost entirely superseded the former, and is used at the present day. In either method the skin was usually reversed, and the opposite side also smoked. However, many skins were smoked only on the inside. The materials used in smoking skins consisted of rotten wood of the cottonwood tree, and of cones of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*).

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[31] *a*, pp. 184–186.

[32] See Thompson, *a*, figs. 128, 129.

[33] *a*, fig. 127.

[34] See Blackfoot, *c*, p. 65; Thompson, *a*, p. 185.

[35] See Northern Shoshone, *j*, p. 176 and fig. 3.

Skins to be cured with oil were cleaned and dried, then soaked for several days in a basket with brains and water. They were then wrung and grained in the same way as already described. Occasionally, instead of soaking, the skin was smeared several times with brains or with oil until saturated, and then rubbed. At the present day skins are nearly all soaked in soap and water, as among the Thompson. When the hair was to be retained, only the inside of the skin was dressed. Animals' brains and salmon oil were much used for preparing skins, especially for those dressed in the hair, which were nearly always oil cured. As among the Thompson Indians, skins were occasionally treated by leaving them in water until the hair pulled out, or by burying them in ashes.[26] Some grainers or scrapers with short handles of wood or antler and with small stone heads, and a few of a single piece of bone with one end sharpened[27] but not serrated, were used for softening the skins of small mammals. This was done over the knee. These grainers were similar in shape of blade and handle to the large straight grainers, but only about 15 cm. in length.[28] Some small stone scrapers without handles, some of them like rounded knife blades or grainers,[29] were also used. Usually only large skins of deer and medium and small skins of elk and buffalo were stretched on frames and rubbed with long-handled grainers. Small deer skins and antelope skins were held down by the feet and worked by pulling over the knees and toward the body,[30] at the same time being rubbed with a short grainer held in one hand. Only rarely were they stretched and laced on frames.

Another method of treating these skins was to draw them back and forth over a stick implanted in the ground and provided with a stone head. Large, heavy hides, especially of buffalo, in a dry state, were pegged to the ground, and treated, it seems, as described by Wissler for the Blackfoot.[31] Adze-shaped scrapers, with blades of stone and iron, and handles generally of wood with hide shrunk over hemp string foundation were used for holding and drying berries.[45] Some bags, generally in plain twined weave, were made of swamp-grass or of a fine rush. Others were woven of the bark of dead trees, generally willow, and of the bark of an unidentified bush called *somxone'lp*(?), which grows in the mountains. Some coarse bags of various sizes were made of cedar bark. The coarsest ones were often made in square or checker weave; and for the finest ones the best inner bark of the cedar was used, twined with Indian-hemp bark either untwisted or twisted into twine. The inside bark of the cedar was used in the same manner and for the same purposes as the bark of *Elaeagnus argentea* among the Thompson. It seems that this bush was scarce or did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country. The finer kinds of woven bags were sometimes ornamented with stripes of the same material as the bags, dyed, or by introducing other material of a different natural color. The edges of many bags were bound with buckskin, while others had rims woven in different ways to prevent fraying.

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[26] See Northern Shoshone, *j*, p. 177.

[27] See Thompson specimen, Field Mus. 111742.

[28] See Thompson, *h*, fig. 252 *b*, *c*; Ottawa Mus. Nos. 161, 164.

[29] Similar to Blackfoot, *c*, fig. 5 *a*.

[30] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 215.

[31] See Blackfoot, *c*, pp. 63–70.

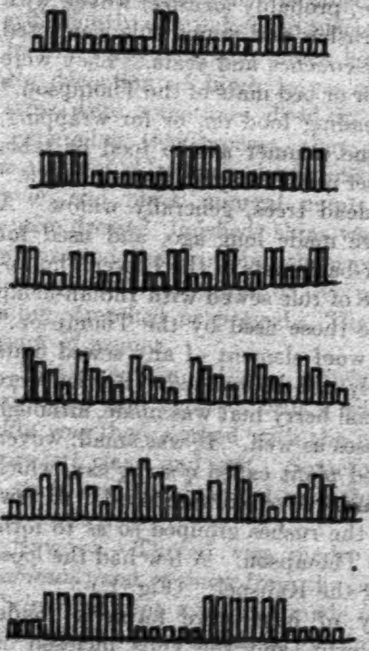

FIGURE 1.—Edges of matting

Flat wallets or soft bags of Indian-hemp twine tightly woven were made in great numbers and of various sizes. They were of the same weave as those made by neighboring Salishan and Shahaptian tribes. The process of ornamentation was by what is known as "false embroidery," the material and designs appearing only on the outside of the bag.[46] Some bags had the entire outside covered with false embroidery in grass, while others were covered only in places where designs were introduced. Grass was usually employed as a field for the designs, which were often in other material. Formerly the Indians used two or three unidentified varieties of coarse, glossy-stemmed grasses growing in the mountains. According to some informants *Zerophyllum tenax* was employed most extensively. Grasses were used in their natural green, yellow, and white shades and were also dyed yellow, green, and red. Black was rarely used. Porcupine quills, dyed and undyed, served to a considerable extent as design material, and sometimes also the inside bark of the cedar. In later days, corn husk largely took the place of grass and bark. After the advent of the whites, the material most in use was yarn, obtained by tearing up old or worn-out woolen blankets of various colors. Sometimes the edges of new ones were also unraveled. The favorite color of yarn used as a background for the designs was yellow. Some bags were almost entirely covered with it, the designs themselves being wrought in blue, red, and other colors. Some bags, both in early and later times, had ornamentation on one side only; but most of them had designs on both sides. A few wallets were quite devoid of ornamentation, as among the Thompson and some other Salishan tribes.

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[45] See Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 80.

[46] See Nez Percé, *b*, fig. 3; pp. 191, 192, pl. 6, No. 17; Shuswap, *a*, fig. 219.

Another kind of bag, made of Indian-hemp twine closely woven, is said to have been round, or at least of a shape rounder than that of the wallets. They were of different sizes, none of them very large, and were in plain twined weave. As a rule, they were unornamented, although in rare cases there was a short buckskin fringe around the mouth.

No closely woven bags of Indian hemp with hide bottoms, like the Thompson "mortar bags," were used; but a kind of winnowing bag made of Indian-hemp twine woven rather open was used for cleaning *pi'wia* roots. The mouth was tied, and the bag of roots either struck against a smooth rock or beaten with a short stick until the roots were cleaned.

Skin Bags and Pouches.—Soft bags, pouches, or wallets of many sizes and several shapes were made of dressed hide of deer and elk, and occasionally of antelope, moose, or caribou. The common shape for ordinary purposes was the same as the flat wallets of Indian hemp. Some bags, used more or less for carrying purposes, were of a squarer shape. The smaller hand bags of the ordinary form were often elaborately ornamented with quillwork designs and fringes of cut skin. The latter were often strung with dentalia, beads, and small pendants, such as bone beads, teeth, fawn hoofs, copper beads, or hair tassels. After the arrival of the fur traders, colored trade beads supplanted most of the old materials for ornamentation. These fancy bags were usually embroidered on one side only. Sometimes the opposite side was also ornamented around the mouth. A large number of bags were also made of the skins of buffalo, bear, and other animals dressed in the hair. They varied in size and shape, and many were ornamented with long buckskin fringes. Paint pouches were of dressed skin, usually rather small, round or flat. Many were quilled, beaded, and fringed. Some of them resembled the paint pouches attached to belts among the Thompson. These were also like those of the Blackfoot, but with straight-cut top.[a]

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[a] c, fig. 36.

Tobacco bags were of skin, richly embroidered with quills or beads on both sides, and fringed. In later days many were made of red and blue cloth carrying beaded designs. Two or three shapes of tobacco bags were in vogue. One common kind, worn with a strap over the shoulder, was flat and rather large and square.[48] Another common kind, carried by a string over the arm, was smaller, rather deep, and narrow, like that of the Blackfoot;[49] but it seems the top was generally cut straight, and pinked. Both kinds had fringes, sometimes very long, at the bottom only. When cloth came into use instead of skin for the square kind of tobacco bag, fringes were made about an inch wide (as cloth could not be cut into small strings like skin), and the edges of the fringes were sewed, or bound with ribbon, to prevent fraying. Most cloth bags had eight of these fringes. The outside of the fringes and the carrying strap were often embroidered as well as one or both sides of the bag. The tobacco bags carried on the arm were always embroidered on both sides. Smaller, deep, narrow tobacco pouches were also used, drawn under and over the belt or attached to it. Some were plain, except for a fringe at the bottom, and others were embroidered on both sides. Tobacco bags made of the skins of marten, fisher, mink, otter, and fawn, dressed in the hair, were very common; and it is said that long ago they were more in vogue than those of skin without hair. Most of them were fringed with skin, and some were further ornamented with pendants. A few had quill embroidery around the edges.

Rawhide Bags and Parflèches.—Before the advent of the horse some rawhide bags were in use for storing and carrying dried meat and fat. They were made of the skins of deer and other large animals, but I failed to learn much as to their shape and details of construction. They were unornamented, except that sometimes the tail with hair was retained. About the time of the introduction of the horse, square and oblong bags of buffalo hide[50] were adopted from the Flathead, and became quite common. They had long fringes of dressed moose or buffalo hide, and were used as canteens or saddlebags by women when traveling, and hung up in the lodges as receptacles for odds and ends, women's tools, etc. About the same time, or a little later, buffalo-hide parflèches came into use for carrying all kinds of materials on pack horses. Every family had numbers of these. Both the bags and parflèches were almost invariably painted with designs in red, brown, yellow, and occasionally blue and other colors. The paints used were various mineral earths powdered very fine. Rawhide to be painted was thoroughly moistened. Then the outlines of the designs were marked with the point of an awl or a sharp stick. The paint was then applied with a flat narrow paint stick, a small stiff hairbrush, or the finger, while the skin was still quite damp. The paint was mixed with water to the consistency of a thick paste, or was spread dry over the marked parts of the skin and rubbed in with the paint stick, following the marks. The skin was then allowed to dry slowly. After about two weeks, when thoroughly dry and stiff, whatever paint remained loose and dry on the surface was shaken or wiped off, and the pigment which had entered the skin was smeared over with a heated beaver's tail, the oil from which entered the skin, made the paint more permanent, and gave the whole surface a glossy appearance. The beaver tail was often applied twice to the designs, and once all over the outside surface. When buffalo hides became scarce, skins of cattle were substituted in the manufacture of hide bags and parflèches.

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[48] See Shuswap, c, pl. 13.

[49] c, fig. 35.

[50] See Thompson, a, fig. 151; Shuswap, c, fig. 220.

Designs were occasionally made on rawhide bags by scraping away the outer layer of the skin, but this style was rare.

A bag of the same construction and shape as the square hide bags was made before the introduction of the horse, but it was of heavy hide, dressed fairly soft, and had short fringes. Bags of this kind were sometimes painted along the edges, generally with red and yellow paint.

A pail-shaped mortar bag made of rawhide was often employed for crushing berries. It is doubtful if it was used before the days of the horse.

The making and ornamentation of all kinds of bags, wallets, parflèches, baskets, mats, including the gathering and preparation of the materials, was the work of the women. The men generally skinned the animals, made most of the tools, and collected some of the paint.

Flexible Baskets.—Flexible baskets of at least two kinds were formerly made. They were closely woven, round, rather deep in proportion to width, and of various sizes. It seems they were usually flat bottomed. One kind was of Indian-hemp twine throughout. The twine was heavier than that generally used in wallets and bags. This kind of basket seems to have been of the same weave as the basket caps, and, like them, was frequently ornamented with designs in grass and bark. Probably it was the same kind of flexible basket or bag as that made by the Nez Percé and neighboring tribes to the south and west.[11] The other kind differed from the former in being usually of larger size and of coarser material. The foundation or vertical elements were of cedar roots, generally split, and the horizontal elements (or warp) were of Indian-hemp twine. The technique of the weave is uncertain, but it is said to have been the same as in some soft baskets made by neighboring tribes to the south and southwest. None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these baskets; but their parents saw them, and their grandparents made them.

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[11] b, pl. 6, No. 13 and fig. 4.

Openwork Baskets.—Some openwork baskets of creels were made long ago, and were used for holding fish, fishing materials, and for other purposes. They were made of light rods or twigs, generally of cedar; and the weave seems to have been a kind of open lattice, according to some, while others claim that the technique was a twined weave the same or nearly the same as the openwork creels used by the Lower Thompson.[82]

Birch-bark Baskets.—Baskets made of birch bark were used considerably and for various purposes, including berrying. They varied much in size, but most of them were small. It seems that all of them were cut like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[83] The bottom was flat and of the same diameter as the mouth; the sides were vertical. The bark was nearly always arranged with the grain at right angles to the rim, as was common among the Lake and very rare among the Thompson and Shuswap. Sewing threads were of split cedar root, like those used in coiled basketry. The mouth was strengthened with one or two hoops of willow or other wood placed generally, but not always, inside the rim. The stitching of the rims was of split cedar root or the split small branches of the cedar. Some had the stitches wide apart and not very regular, some had zigzag stitching,[84] and others had the stitches close together. The rims of some were ornamented with a kind of beading made of strips of bark, rarely of grass, in black and white colors drawn over and under the stitching, thus making an ornamentation of black and white spots on the rim.[85] Flattened quills were also used for this purpose. Some baskets were ornamented with scratched designs, both pictographic and geometric. Painted and burnt-in designs, it seems, were never used on these baskets.

Cedar-bark Baskets.—Many baskets were made of cedar bark; but usually they were for temporary use, and therefore roughly made. Three shapes were in use. One kind was trough-shaped, consisting of a single piece of bark gathered up and tied at the ends. To preserve the shape, short pieces of wood were placed inside at right angles, to keep the bark stretched until dry and set. If required for immediate use, wooden pins were inserted through the bark and left there for a time. These baskets were usually small, and appear to have been exactly like those made of juniper bark by the Upper Thompson (fig. 2)[86] and used for holding melted fat, marrow, etc.

Another kind of cedar-bark basket was oblong. Two parallel slits were cut in each end of a piece of bark of the required size and shape.

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[82] *a*, fig. 131, *b*, fig. 148.

[83] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 147; Shuswap, *e*, fig. 203; Lillooet, *k*, fig. 82.

[84] See Lake Baskets, Field Mus. Nos. 111859–111862.

[85] Probably similar to Shuswap, *e*, fig. 202.

[86] Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 72, Field Mus. 111713.

These slits were in length equal to the proposed height of the basket. The bark was doubled up at the sides; and the middle end pieces, being now continuations of the bottom, were also doubled up. The other two cut pieces at each end became a continuation of the sides, and were folded toward each other around the middle end piece. The three cut pieces at each end were then sewed together. (Fig. 3.) None of the bark was cut away, except for trimming the edges. These baskets, according to their depths, were used for storage purposes, as dye kettles, etc. Many of the shallower ones were used as dishes and for catching fat drippings.

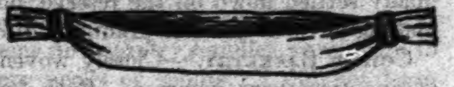

FIGURE 2.—Temporary bark basket

The third kind of cedar-bark basket was much used for berrying, and, like the other two, consisted of a single piece of bark. A rather long, flat piece of bark was folded over in the middle, and the sides were sewed up with splint. A round hoop was roughly stitched inside the rim to shape the mouth and keep it open. The fold of the bark formed the bottom of the basket. Sometimes the strip of bark was cut narrow in the middle, which was to be the bottom, and widened toward both ends. When folded over the basket became narrow at the bottom, wide at the mouth. A carrying strap was often attached to it.

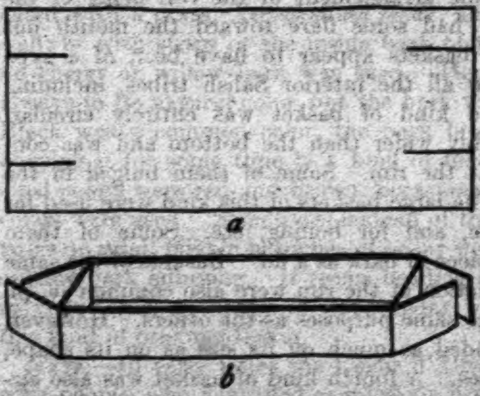

FIGURE 1.—Method of cutting bark for basket

A receptacle for holding fishing gear was used in canoes. It consisted of a single flat piece of bark folded over. One end was drawn together by being tied with a string, and formed the handle, while the other end remained flat. This piece of bark was folded over near the middle and the flat end was bent back toward the handle, forming a cover for the contents of the receptacle. It seems to have been the same kind of receptacle as that used in canoes by the Shuswap.

Canoe bailers were also often made of bark, but I did not learn exactly how they were made.

No wooden boxes or wooden dishes of any kind were made, and no pottery of any kind, so far as I could learn.

After horses became plentiful, and the mode of life of the tribe changed, owing to the annual buffalo hunting, all kinds of woven baskets, bags, and mats rapidly went out of use, and the art of making many of them soon became lost. The making of baskets was discontinued first, and then gradually the making of mats and bags, until only a few lodge mats and a few flat wallets continued to be made. The latter were made until a late date, as they were handy in traveling and there was considerable sale for them among the Flathead and Plains tribes. Hide bags of various kinds continued to be made, and the women turned to the making of rawhide bags and parflèches in large numbers. At last, after buffalo hunting ceased and the tribe finally settled down on the reserve, doing hardly any traveling, the making of these was also gradually discontinued.

COILED BASKETRY.[1]—Closely woven baskets of coiled work were at one time very common. Both foundation and sewing were of split cedar roots and they seem to have differed but little from the coiled basketry of other Salish tribes. They were of seven or more different shapes and of many sizes. The kind used as burden baskets and for general purposes was rather deep in proportion to width, with two sides more or less flattened and wider than the other two. The flattening of the sides was to prevent rolling when carried on the back. They had no well-defined corners or angles, being nearly circular or elliptical at the mouth. The bottoms were nearly circular or slightly oblong, the arrangement of the coil being of the watch-spring type. They had some flare toward the mouth but not a great deal. These baskets appear to have been of a type common in early times to all the interior Salish tribes, including the Thompson. A second kind of basket was entirely circular. The mouth was considerably wider than the bottom and was contracted for several coils at the rim. Some of them bulged in the middle. (*o*, Pl. 14, *d*.) The large baskets of this kind were used for holding water, for storage, and for boiling, etc. Some of them were provided with a flat piece of bark as a lid. Baskets of the same kind but having no contraction at the rim were also common (*o*, pl. 70, *f*) and were used for the same purposes as the others. However, the use of a basket depended as much on its size as on its shape, if not more so in most cases. A fourth kind of basket was also circular, had a great deal of flare, and therefore was very wide mouthed. (*o*, Pl. 21, *c*.) The larger ones were very much used for boiling food. A fifth kind was somewhat pail-shaped. The bottom was circular and flat and the walls almost vertical to the mouth, the latter being very little wider than the bottom. (Similar to *o*, Pl. 69, *b*.) They were of various sizes. A sixth kind of basket occasionally made was low and oblong with rounded corners. None of them was very large, and most of them were contracted at the mouth. They were used as storage baskets for valuables, feathers, and many things, and also as work baskets. Some of them had lids attached with thongs. They appear to have been similar to the small "trunk" or "*stluq*" baskets of the Thompson. (*a*, Fig. 143.) Small baskets, practically the same as some of the "nut-shaped" baskets of the Thompson, were made, but it appears they were called by the same name as the larger circular baskets with constricted rims. Some of them had lids and they were used as work baskets, and for storing small odds and ends. (*a*, Fig. 145.) Some of these baskets had handles of thongs attached to the rims. Some of the oblong baskets had these thong handles at the ends, and some of the wide-mouth kettle and water baskets had thong handles fastened to rods somewhat the same as the loops in parflêches. It seems no basketry handles were made to baskets, nor feet or stands, nor necks or spouts. I did not learn whether any basketry trays, dishes, and cups were made. Still another kind of basket was the circular mortar or funnel basket, without bottom, and with sides very much flared. They were pegged down to a flat stone in the manner described for the Nez Percé (*b*, Pl. VI, 18.) Roots and berries, and sometimes seeds, were crushed in them. It seems a winnowing basket somewhat similar to that of the Nez Percé (*b*, p. 194) was sometimes made, but winnowing bags of cordage were chiefly used in cleaning of roots. (See p. 49.) Most baskets were devoid of ornamentation, but some were imbricated with a grass, *Xerophyllum tenax*, and possibly other kinds as well; or with strips of the inside bark of the cedar. It is said that no cherry or willow bark was used. The grass was applied nearly always in its natural color, but the bark was almost invariably dyed. Black was a common color, the bark being dyed a deep black by burying it for some time in a kind of black mud. The other principal colors were red and brown; occasionally yellow and some other colors were used. Sometimes instead of the inside bark of the cedar, twigs or small pliable branches of cedar were split and used with the outside bark adhering. It seems beading as well as imbrication was in vogue, narrow strips of dyed cedar bark being chiefly used in this kind of ornamentation.

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[1] See *o*, pp. 140–142.

NETS.—In early times the Coeur d'Alêne were largely a lake and river people, who depended as much on fishing as on hunting. They had many nets, large and small, which were made of Indian-hemp twine. Netting sticks of the same shape as those of the Thompson were in use.[87] Several kinds of woven fish traps were also made.

DESIGNS ON BAGS AND BASKETS.—My information on this subject is meager. The Coeur d'Alêne I interviewed had forgotten the names of designs; and without specimens it was difficult to get accurate information regarding design forms and groupings of elements. Grass for decorating caps was gathered early in the season, while still green, and the stems were cured. These retained their green color to a considerable degree. Later in the season the dry grass was collected. The stems were all sorted, the whitest ones being separated from the yellow ones.

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[87] *a*, fig. 134.

DESIGNS ON FLAT WALLETS.—On woven wallets of the Nez Percé type made by the Coeur d'Alêne the designs are said to have been of exactly the same kind as are to be seen on wallets of the Nez Percé (fig. 4)[illegible] and neighboring Salishan tribes. Some designs had names and others had none. All the designs were geometric, and each side of a wallet generally bore a different set of designs. So much alike were all the wallets of neighboring tribes, that a bag made by the Coeur d'Alêne could rarely be told from one made by the Nez Percé or some other tribe. I saw a few wallets among the Coeur d'Alêne, but obtained very few explanations of any of the designs on them.

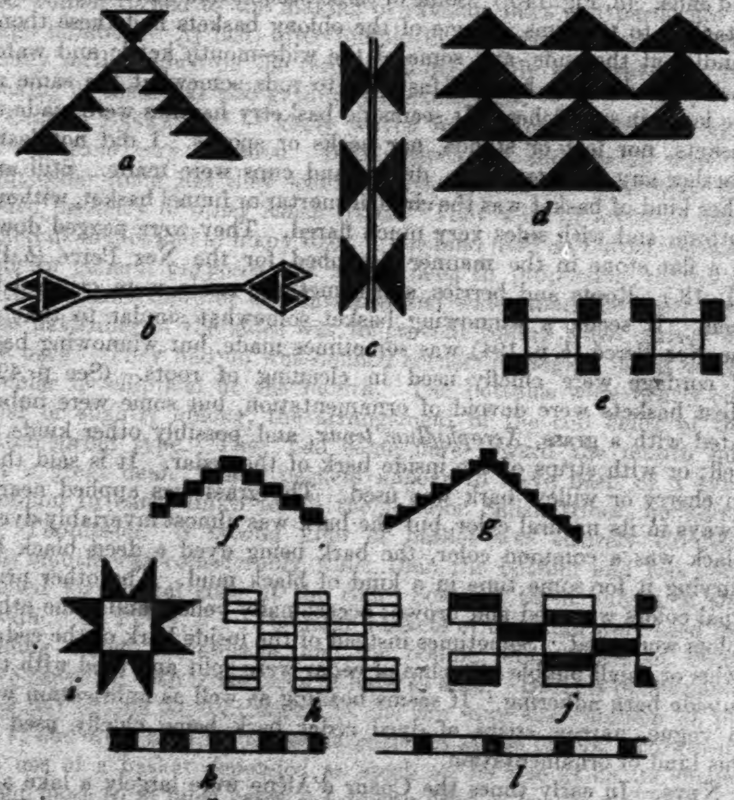

FIGURE 4.—Designs from woven wallets

[illegible] b, fig. 6.

Designs on Beaded Bags.—Designs on beaded bags were mostly geometric, and some of them resembled painted designs on rawhide bags. Floral designs have also been fairly common for a long time. I saw a few of these bags with both geometric (fig. 5) and floral designs, and obtained a few explanations.

Designs on Rawhide Bags and Parflèches.—Rawhide bags and parflèches were adopted long ago from the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes of the Flathead group. The first ones made by the Coeur d'Alêne were copies of those obtained from Flathead tribes, the painted designs also being copied. As the designs did not originate with the Coeur d'Alêne, the latter did not know the names or meanings of them. In later times, although Coeur d'Alêne women were constantly making and painting these bags and parflèches, on the whole, they kept to the class of designs originally belonging to these bags and common to all the neighboring tribes. As far as known, no absolutely new designs were invented by any of the women; but in time many variations of details, of groupings, and of coloring were introduced, according to the fancies and tastes of the women. So much was this the case that every common design and design element had a great many variations caused by modifications of their shapes or forms, and of different methods of arrangement in the field or of combining one design with another. Thus hardly two bags or parflèches could be found painted exactly alike. Some of the women must have learned or invented names for some of the designs, as in later times there were general names for some of them. Many, however, had no fixed names. They were merely described as to form, etc. Some of the design names remembered are "tents," "earth," "mountains," "lakes," "creeks," "trails," "trees," and "grass." No realistic designs were painted on any of these bags. As most of the old women in the tribe formerly painted bags and parflèches, it seems likely that a systematic inquiry would result in obtaining explanations of many of the figures.

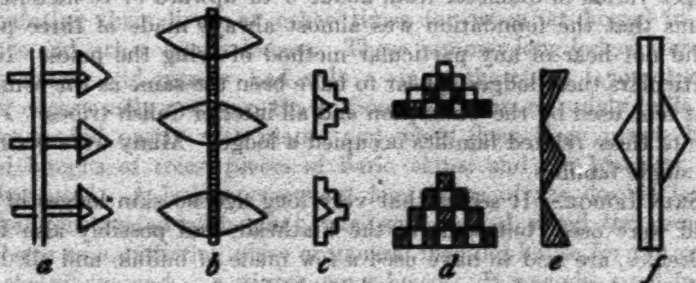

Figure 5.—Designs from beaded bags

Designs on Bark Baskets.—The only designs remembered on birch-bark baskets are "spots," "arrowheads," "straight lines," "zigzags," possibly "trails," and "mountains." Occasionally small figures of men, women, horses, deer, elk, and buffalo were also scratched on them.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

Conical Mat Lodge.—The conical lodge or tent of poles covered with mats made of sewed tules was the common family house of the Coeur d'Alêne, summer and winter. In summer the lodge was pitched on the surface of the leveled ground. Generally single layers of mats were used. In winter it was pitched over an excavation a few inches to a foot and a half in depth, and the excavated earth banked up around the base. Dry grass, dry pine needles, or pieces of bark were placed around the bottom of the mats to prevent decay. Double and treble layers of mats were used in the wintertime. These lodges varied in diameter from about 5 to upward of 10 meters. It seems that the foundation was almost always made of three poles. I did not hear of any particular method of tying the poles. In all particulars these lodges appear to have been the same as the common mat tent used by the Thompson and all interior Salish tribes. From one to three related families occupied a lodge. Many were occupied by single families.

Skin Lodge.—It seems that very long ago no skin lodges of any kind were used; but some of the Flathead, and possibly also Pend d'Oreilles, are said to have used a few made of buffalo and elk hide, as far back as tradition goes. After buffalo hunting was engaged in by the Coeur d'Alêne, tents of buffalo skins, like those used by the Flathead and neighboring Plains tribes, began to supersede all other kinds of lodges, and soon became the only kind used in traveling. When buffalo skins became scarce, light canvas tents were substituted for the skin tents. At the present day these and white men's tents are altogether used in camping. Some of the buffalo-skin tents were ornamented with painted designs.

Long Lodge.—The long communal lodge was also used, especially at gatherings and at summer resorts, where many people congregated temporarily. In fair weather the long lodge used was often a single one-sided lean-to, with the fires built in the open along the front. Sometimes windbreaks of mats or of brush were extended across one or both ends. If the lodge was to be used for a number of weeks, or if the weather was cold, and there was a good supply of mats on hand, another similar lean-to was built facing the first, and the spaces at the ends between the two were filled in, thus making a double lean-to lodge. An exit or doorway was left at each end. The long opening at the top was quite wide and served as an outlet for the smoke. Sometimes, if people were camped in a single lean-to and cold windy weather came on, half of the single lean-to was taken down and pitched opposite the other half, and a double lean-to thus made. However, in warm summer weather the airy single lean-to seems to have been the customary type where there was a large crowd. Usually single lean-tos were in a straight line, but sometimes they extended more or less in an arc or half-moon shape. This depended on the length of the lodge and the nature of the ground. Some of them ranged in length from 30 to 50 meters. The construction of these as well as of the double lean-to was the same as among the Thompson,[39] Nez Percé,[40] and neighboring tribes. Construction varied sometimes in details, depending on the care with which the lodge was built, the length of time it was to be occupied, and the number, length, and quality of the poles obtainable. Some double lean-tos were from 18 to 35 meters in length, and, when necessary, accommodated as many people as could lie in them from end to end on both sides—from 75 to 100 or more. The people inhabiting them lived at other times (or when at home) in mat tents and other family lodges. These summer long lodges were not excavated, and usually had only a single thatch or layer of mats, and occasionally not even that. Some of the more rudely built ones were roofed partly with mats; and when these were scarce brush and boughs of trees, pieces of bark, skins, and old blankets were substituted. A large, permanent long lodge of the double lean-to type, constructed with great care, was erected at all the principal villages as a gathering place or general meeting house for the people of the village and as a winter dance house. It was also used for the accommodation of visitors. When not otherwise in use, it served as headquarters for young men engaged in training during the wintertime and was inhabited by them. During most winter nights, singing and dancing could be heard in this lodge; and at frequent intervals most of the people congregated there, especially evenings, to see the young men practicing their songs and medicine dances or playing games. These winter long houses were excavated to a depth of from 30 to 75 centimeters, and were made as snug as possible with double or treble layers of tule mats, and by banking up the earth around them. The mats were arranged horizontally and overlapping, as in all mat lodges. The long aperture in the middle of the roof, which served as smoke hole, was made as narrow as possible consistent with its purpose of serving as a smoke escape. These winter houses were from 5 to 8 meters wide and from 13 to 25 meters shades against the sun as well as shelters from rain and wind. Occasionally single families used small bark lodges open on one side with the fire outside the entrance. The bark covering on these was often placed horizontally, but this kind of lodge was not much used. It is doubtful whether any tents or completely circular lodges of bark were made, although some tribes, as the Lake, used them.

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[39] See a, fig. 142, but often or usually all the middle poles a were placed outside of the horizontal poles c. The top horizontal pole c (or ridge pole) was of heavier material and also the outside or corner poles a. The support poles b were also heavy.

[40] See b, p. 196.

Brush Lodges.—Temporary brush lodges of poles and branches of coniferous trees, chiefly fir and balsam, were used by hunting parties and by people traveling in the mountains. Most of them were slightly oblong, almost like the bark lodges. A few were conical. On hunting grounds where good bark abounded, bark lodges were always used as hunting lodges. The bark was renewed as required. Families traveling short distances in the summer erected simple shades or shelters of two or three mats arranged most conveniently. If they had no mats they used simple shelters of brush or bark or slept in the open under large trees.

Women's and Girls' Lodges.—Women's lodges, used by women during their isolation periods, and lodges of adolescent maidens, were chiefly small tents or conical lodges placed at some distance from other dwellings and covered with mats, bark, brush, or old skins. Sometimes in the summer women used a mere shelter or shade of mats or bark.

Underground and Other Lodges.—No semi-subterranean earth-covered lodges, like those of the Thompson, Columbia, and other tribes, were used. These lodges are said to have been made only by the western tribes along Columbia River. Underground sudatory lodges for young men, and underground menstrual lodges for women, such as were used by the Nez Percé,[71] were not in use. Lodges with square framework and also those of circular shape with square smoke hole were never used.

Sweat Houses.—Sweat houses were of the common dome-shaped type, with a framework of bent willows, such as those used by all the plateau tribes. A hole was dug to one side of the entrance to hold the stones.[72] The covering was of bark or grass, over which was laid sod or earth to the depth of from 5 to 12 cm. Temporary sweat houses had the sticks farther apart, and were covered when in use with robes, skins, or closely woven pliable mats in one or two layers. After the introduction of canvas and woolen blankets very few earth-covered sweat houses were made, blankets or tents being used as covering whenever required. The floor of the sweat houses was covered with soft brush or with grass. Most of them were small, and could accommodate only one or two persons. A very few were made large enough for five or six people.

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[71] b, p. 198.

[72] a, pl. 17, figs. 2 and 3.

Scaffolds.—Scaffolds of poles were erected near all the more permanent lodges for the storing of saddles, skins, and other goods, to keep them out of the way of dogs. Anything of value was covered with mats, which were often fastened down as a protection against the wind. Spare baskets, mats, poles, and frames for stretching skins were also often placed on these scaffolds. Pole scaffolds for drying berries and meat were used at the fall berrying and hunting camps. They were like those found among the Thompson and other tribes.

Caches and Cellars.—The common cache was a circular pit dug in dry ground where the drainage was good. It was the same as that used by the Thompson and other tribes. Dried fish, dried meat, roots, and other kinds of food were stored in these. Mats, camping outfit, skins, and sometimes food were cached on small platforms built in the branches of large trees or suspended from large lower limbs, to be out of the way of rats and mice. Box caches made of poles or of bark, erected in trees or on posts or on platforms, were not used by the tribe. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that box caches were used only by neighboring tribes in places where snakes were abundant. Poisonous snakes were not found in any part of their country.

House Furnishings and Utensils.—House furnishings, as among other interior tribes, were very simple. The parts of the lodge where people sat and slept were covered with "bed" or "floor" mats of rushes. (See p. 47.) Some other coarser, squarer mats were used to some extent as seats and food was placed on them, preparatory to cooking. Often a layer of dry pine needles, or dry grass, or fine boughs of fir, balsam, hemlock, or cedar, laid regularly, all the butts one way, was spread all over the floor of the lodge. If these materials were scarce they were spread where the people slept and the bed mats were laid on top. No stools or benches were used. Often blocks of wood, pieces of tree trunks or large branches, and slabs of bark were used as seats at open fires outside of lodges in the mountains or in the woods. No special back rests were made. People lounged on the beds, using as back rests the rolled-up bedding, rolls of skins, bundles of any kind, full bags or large stiff baskets placed mouth down. Sometimes short pieces of plank, or slabs of stiff bark placed on edge and properly supported, were used as temporary back rests. Beds were made next to the walls of the house. The sleepers had, as a rule, their heads toward the wall and their feet toward the fire. If the lodge was very narrow beds were made sidewise along the fire. Some people preferred this way when there was plenty of room. Beds were made of skins spread over mats and grass or brush, or sometimes of mats alone, or of skins alone spread over these materials. Skins of buffalo, bear, goat, and elk with the hair on were much used as bedding; also skins of deer, sheep, and old robes of any kind. For bed coverings robes were used; possibly those of buffalo and elk were most common. Pillows generally consisted of bunches of dry grass tied loosely and covered with skin, also folded skins, leather, robes, and pieces of robes, or rolls of matting. Often the head of the bed was simply raised by heaping up grass or brush under the bedding. Sacks of clothes and other soft materials were also used for this purpose. No pillows of bulrush down were used, and very few of hair or feathers. The spaces next to the door of the lodge were used for keeping the cooking utensils and for storage. Some kinds of food stored in sacks and baskets, dressed hide, and many other things were placed out of the way in the spaces between the beds and the base of the lodge walls. As a rule, dressed skins, clothes, valuables, and odds and ends were placed near the head or side of the bed. Some men kept their medicine bags at the head of the bed or hidden under the pillow. Work bags, quivers, and clothes were hung up near the beds or in convenient places. For this purpose cords and light poles were often attached to the poles of the lodge. Moccasins were hung on these or put under the foot of the bed. In some lodges small shelves, consisting of racks of light poles, were tied to the poles. Meat and other foods were dried and stored on them. Sometimes a framework for smoking meat and fish and for drying clothing extended across the lodge above the fire. Water, cooking utensils, and the larger tools were kept just inside the door.

The various kinds of bags and baskets used for storage and many of the tools have already been described. Circular baskets were used as kettles for boiling food. Meat and other foods were roasted on sticks before the fire or baked in hot ashes. Small bowls hollowed out of knots of trees and others made of bark and basketry were only occasionally used. Probably some bark cups were used, but no wooden dishes, or wooden kettles and cups. Occasionally the cylindrical bark baskets (see p. 52) were used as food bowls, but their proper use was to catch fat drippings before the fire and as storage vessels for rendered fat and marrow. Food was served on mats or eaten out of basket kettles. Parties on short hunting and traveling trips, having no mats and baskets with them, spread food on twigs and the small ends of branches heaped together. They also did boiling in paunches; but as a rule meat was roasted by them on sticks before the fire. They carried no bedding, and slept wrapped in their robes on a couch of fir boughs or similar material.

Some small bowls were made of mountain ram's horn. Spoons and ladles were of horn and wood. The largest ones were all of mountain ram's horn. Smaller ones were made of goat horn or buffalo horn. A few may have been made of ewe horn. Large and small wooden spoons were used, and most of them were made of balsam poplar wood (*Populus balsamifera*). Spoons made from the skullcaps of deer and possibly those of other animals were fairly common. Tongs and stirrers were made of wood and were similar to those of the Thompson.[73] The handles were sometimes painted.

Fire was made with the common hand drill, like that of the Thompson and other tribes. The hearth stick was of poplar, willow, or various other kinds of wood. The top stick was generally made of cedar. It seems that the two sticks were not called "man" and "woman," as among the Thompson and many other tribes.

Tinder consisted of very dry cedar bark shredded and teased very fine. It was carried in a bag made for the purpose, and in wet or damp weather was worn underneath the arm close to or within the armpit. In places where cedar bark was scarce, bark of other trees, dry grass, and other materials were used. In permanent camps fires were banked, or otherwise attended to, and never allowed to go out entirely. Fire was carried from one place to another by means of cedar-bark slow matches like those of the Thompson.[74]

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing was made of skins of deer, elk, antelope, and other animals, with or without hair. It was of the same general type as obtained among other interior Salishan tribes. The men wore moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout, shirt, and robe; and the women, moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and robe. In warm weather lighter robes were used. Some people used none at all except for sleeping. Often leggings or shirts, or both, were discarded by the men. On warm days some men wore only moccasins, breechclout, and headband. Many had the uncovered parts of the body painted, but the paint was always washed off every day. In the evening, if chilly, people put on a robe. When the people were traveling on foot the robe was carried or worn; when mounted, it was placed on the saddle; when hunting, unless the weather was very cold, it was left in camp.

Robes.—Robes were tanned quite soft, and consisted chiefly of the skins of elk, deer, fawn, buffalo, marmot, ground squirrel, beaver, and sometimes coyote, lynx, and other animals. The skins were sewed together with sinew or bark thread, and occasionally were fringed along all the seams. Fringes consisted chiefly of leather cut into fine strings, and of narrow strips of animal skins with the hair on. There were several methods of fringing and ornamenting robes, according to the kinds of skin from which they were made. Ground-squirrel robes consisted sometimes of as many as 80 skins sewed together. Deerskin robes usually consisted of two skins, as among the Thompson; and these and elk-skin robes sometimes had stripes shorn into the hair for ornamentation.[75] Elk and buffalo robes often consisted of single skins, but some were of two pieces. Many buffalo robes consisted of the skin of a year-old buffalo entire; while others, made from skins of larger animals, had the back cut out, because it is too thick to be rendered pliable. The sides were sewed together, making a two-piece robe. All these robes were dressed in the hair. All were worn hair side out, excepting some of those with painted designs on the inside, which were occasionally worn inside out for show. Some robes had crosswise bands of beaded or quilled designs. Some of these seem to have been similar to the central bands used on robes by the Blackfeet [76] and may have been copied from eastern tribes; but others, it seems, were of native invention, several bands being used on the same robe. Robes woven of narrow twisted strips of muskrat skins were quite common long ago. It seems that they were woven on a rigid loom of four poles; and the weave, as far as I could learn, was the same as that of some Thompson robes woven of strips of rabbit skins.[77] This was the only kind of woven robe used. Neither rabbit skins nor goat's wool were used for robes. Woven goat's-wool robes were known to be made by tribes living west in the Cascade Mountains, but not elsewhere. Some large robes (the size of ordinary robes) and some small robes (the size of large cloaks) were made of hide. They were usually painted with designs on one side, and sometimes fringed and ornamented with pendants. They were used chiefly in the summertime, and appear to have resembled similar robes used by the Thompson.[78]. Some buffalo robes, most of them procured in trade, were used long before the advent of the horse; but after the tribe became regular buffalo hunters, buffalo robes became very cheap and common, and supplanted nearly all other kinds of robes.

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[73] *a*, figs. 159, 160. [74] *a*, fig. 161. [75] *a*, pl. 18.

MEN'S CLOTHES. *Shirts.*—Men's shirts were often short, reaching to the hips or a little below. Usually the sleeve parts reached to the elbow. A common kind of shirt was similar to a shirt used by the Thompson Indians.[79] It consisted of a single buckskin folded double, and a piece cut out for the head to pass through. It was sewed up the sides and under the arms or simply at the sides. Some had only stitches here and there under the arms, and others were laced with a great many thongs along both sides and under the arms. The thongs took the place of fringes. The sewed shirts usually had long cut fringes at the sides, and a few very long strings of fringes near the lower parts of the arms. These shirts were ornamented in several ways, but probably the most common ornamentation was the addition of another piece of skin, which passed over the shoulders and hung down in the shape of a triangle at the front and back. This piece of skin was stitched to the shoulders of the shirt here and there with thongs. It seems to have been in imitation of a collar or small poncho, and, if not embroidered, was pinked, punctured, and painted with red dots. Long pendants of skin were often attached to the pointed ends and to the edges of the collar piece, both front and back; and similar pendants were sometimes included here and there with the cut fringes at the sides and arms, and occasionally some were attached to the body of the shirt as well. These pendants were usually pinked, punctured, and painted with red dots.

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[76] *c*, p. 123 and fig. 74. [77] *a*, fig. 131 *g*. [78] *a*, fig. 301. [79] *a*, fig. 163.

Another common shirt was made of two doeskins sewed together heads up. The head and neck skins were cut off, and this part was left open to allow the head to pass through. The sides were sewed up, and also the parts of the skins covering the arms and shoulders. The part underneath the arms was often only stitched with thongs here and there. This shirt was usually a little longer than the single-skin shirt, but appeared of about the same length, for the bottom part was cut in a long fringe. As all the seams were also fringed, there was fringing on the shirt all around—bottom, sides, shoulders, over and under the arms, and sometimes even around the neck as well. Frequently bands of quillwork followed the borders of all the seams excepting under the arm. Occasionally other bands of quillwork, in the form of stripes and triangles, were embroidered on the breast and upper part of the back, forming a triangular field, point down, similar to the corresponding fields in the clothing of the Plains Indians.[80]

A third kind of shirt, also common, was made of two skins, like the last; but it had no fringing along the seams, excepting sometimes at the sides. Occasionally also the bottom and the lower ends of the sleeves were cut in a fringe or pinked. The shirt was open under the arms, or merely stitched here and there. If stitched, the skin was sometimes fringed. A wide band of quillwork followed the seam of the skins over the shoulders, from the neck down to the ends of the sleeves, over shoulders and arms. For ornamentation a wide band of quilled skin passed at right angles over each shoulder and hung down in front and at the back to about the waist. Often these bands were stitched or sewed to the shirt, usually at the shoulders, but the ends hung loose. As in most shirts, large or small triangular areas (apex down) on the breast and back of the neck were worked with quills or otherwise embroidered. When there was no ornamentation at the back of the neck a long piece of embroidered skin similar to the front bands was sometimes attached there. It hung down the middle of the back to the lower border of the shirt.

Other similar shirts had quilled or beaded bands, which crossed the shoulders or connected with the shoulder bands, sewed down to the shirt their full length. The deer's tail was sometimes left on the shirt behind. Probably these shirts were cut as described by Wissler, and the sewed-down bands covered the seams, but I did not obtain exact information on this point.

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[80] *d*, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

Scalp shirts ornamented with fringes of hair were also in common use. Sometimes the bodies of these were painted in two or three colors arranged in fields. For instance, the upper part of the shirt, including the sleeves, might be red, and the lower part yellow. Yellow, red, brown, blue, black, and green colors were used. Sometimes, instead of hair or scalp locks, ermine skins were used as fringes. The plan of decoration was the same as in the style just described. In some tribes the hair of slaves was used for making fringes on shirts, but it is not certain that the Coeur d'Alêne did so.

Some shirts of light-weight skin, used in the summertime, were covered with small punctures, painted with dots, and ornamented with painted or dyed fringes in the style of the type first described.

Some entirely sleeveless shirts of buffalo or other skins, dressed with or without hair, were in use. They reached to the hips and were laced at the sides. They were made of a single piece of skin folded over, with a slit cut for the head to pass through, like a poncho. Some were fringed at the sides.[82]

A few sleeveless shirts were also made of two skins of coyote or other small animals. The head part adjoined the neck. The tail remained attached and hung down in front and on the back. The skins were joined by pieces of skin at the shoulders and sides. They were laced or tied at the sides.[83]

Similar shirts were made of two pieces of skin of large animals in the hair.[84]

A fairly common shirt was made of buffalo-calf skin dressed in the hair. Most of these had long sleeves. Long ago only a few shirts had full-length closed sleeves, made of separate skins, and sewed to the body at the shoulders. A few were sewed to the body of the shirt at the elbow; the lower part of the sleeve was sewed up to the elbow. The upper arm was formed by part of the skin of which the shirt was cut, as in the specimens previously described, and was open or merely laced.

Most shirts opened only at the neck, where there was an opening left for the head, or a slit cut in the skin to allow the head to pass through. The opening was closed by pulling a lacing or with tie strings on each side of the neck, as in women's dresses. Some shirts had a piece of skin cut away to allow the head to pass through. This usually made the neck of the shirt lower both at the back and front, or sometimes only in front, according to the way the hole was cut.

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[82] See *a*, fig. 162, but without collar.

[83] Thompson specimen, Ottawa, VI, M. 400, and Thompson photograph, Ottawa, No. 30985.

[84] Thompson specimen, Ottawa, VI, M. 398.

Few shirts had slits in the front; the slits were always short. No collars or cuffs were sewed to shirts. No coats, jumpers, or vests were used long ago; they came into vogue after the arrival of the fur traders.

Neck wraps, belts.—Many men, especially in winter, wore small ponchos over their shirts. Usually they consisted of single skins of wolf, coyote, or otter. The head was passed through a slit at about the middle of the skin. The tail hung down the back and the head skin hung over the breast.[85] Sometimes pendants were attached to the head, tail, and sides of the skin. Some consisted of two skins, or parts of two skins, sewed together so that a tail hung down in front and behind, or more rarely at the sides.[86] Neck wraps of long pieces of fur doubled over and sewed together were in use.[87] They were fastened with tie strings at the throat and were used by both sexes. Armlets of skin ornamented with quillwork and feathers were used by some men. Belts made of leather were used to hold up the leggings. Some belts were worn outside the shirt and others inside. Many wide embroidered belts were used, some of them in addition to the belt for holding up the leggings. They were worn outside the shirt. Some belts were made of skin dressed in the hair and ornamented with pendent eagle feathers and other decorations.

Leggings.—Men's leggings were of skin, and reached to the thighs. They were fastened to the belt with tie strings, or with loops for the belt to pass through. Some were made rather tight fitting and others loose. All were fringed along the outer seams. The fringes of some increased in length below the knee. Some leggings were made wider below the knee, and others narrower near the ankle. Most of them, however, were about of an even width throughout. Many leggings had bands of beadwork or quillwork bordering the fringes. When cloth leggings came into use the fringes could not be cut, and extended as double flaps along the outside of the legs. Skin leggings also sometimes had uncut flaps embroidered with beads or quills, or painted. Garters were much used, and generally passed through slits in the outside of the leggings, so that they could be tightened without disturbing the fringes. No trousers were used long ago.

Breechclouts and aprons.—Breechclouts were seldom sewed. Most of them consisted of a loose strip of soft skin cut square at each end, and passed between the thighs under the belt. The ends (sometimes short and sometimes long) hung down over the belt in front and behind. Some of the same shape had the front and back flaps stitched down to the centerpiece, so as to make a place for the belt to pass through like a draw string. Some breechclouts had the ends cut in fringes. In olden times some of the old men wore simple aprons of buffalo skin. They were oblong in shape, and fastened to a belt, or tied with strings around the waist. Some were double, one piece hanging in front and another behind. Another kind of apron used by old men consisted of two wolf skins. Most of the sides of the skins were cut off, leaving the backs, heads, and tails. These were sewed, heads up, to a belt tied in front. The eyeholes were painted red and the tails hung down outside of each leg, almost reaching the ground. There was sometimes fringing in the spaces between the skins.

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[85] *a*, pl. 18.

[86] *b*, p. 217 otter-skin collars.

[87] Thompson specimen, Peabody Museum, No. 275.

Women's Clothes. *Dresses.*—The common woman's dress of the Coeur d'Alêne seems to have been exactly like that described by Spinden for the Nez Percé.[69] About three entire large deerskins were required; two formed the body of the dress, the other being used for filling, to make the skirt even at the bottom, and to increase the flare and length, if necessary. The upper parts of the skins were folded down on the outside of the dress, forming a kind of false yoke at back and front. They were sewed to the body of the dress throughout, or stitched here and there with thongs. Pendants and tassels were often attached to the edges of the fold. The hair of the tailpiece was clipped in lines, and the end of the tail generally, but not always, cut off. Usually the sleeve parts were left open underneath, but sometimes they were stitched or tied here and there with thongs. Generally three rows of inserted fringe or thongs extended around the skirt below the waist. Single rows were also placed on the back and front of the dress below the yoke, but only rarely. Beads and shells of various kinds were sometimes strung on these thongs. Often all or the lower part of the yoke piece was beaded or quilled in lines following the contour of the edge of the yoke, or the dress itself was beaded immediately below the yoke. Some women's dresses had no folded piece or false yoke, and therefore no tailpiece; but imitations of the yoke and tailpiece were made in beading. Almost all dresses had fringes along the sides, bottom, and ends of the arms. Most dresses reached to the ankles, but some to about halfway between the knees and ankles. The sleeve parts of nearly all reached to the elbow, and occasionally almost to the wrist. Dresses were sometimes quilled or beaded with bands bordering the seams and fringes, and often with one or two additional bands or lines around the skirt near the bottom. Some had several lines of quillwork across the breast and back of the body and many had long fringes following the edge of the yoke.

Another kind of woman's dress was also of three skins; but in this case two skins formed the skirt, the third one being folded and sewed across the tops of the other two skins. A slit was cut in the middle for the head to pass through. This kind had draw strings which pulled the dress tight around the neck;[89] or the corners of the opening were tied together with strings, as in most dresses. These dresses were also ornamented with fringes, quilled lines, and rows of thongs. Horizontal lines and triangular and semicircular pieces of embroidery were made on the yoke or upper skin. This kind of dress had fringes like others, and some dresses were painted.

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[69] See *b*, pp. 219, 220; also *d*, fig. 18, Yakima.

A common dress used in the winter was also of three pieces. The upper part was made of a year-old deerskin dressed in the hair; and the skirt of two pieces of dressed skin joined to the body of the dress at the waist and to each other at the sides. It was fringed like all other dresses and was worn hair side out. A few had two pieces in front, the upper part with the hair, and the back of a single piece of dressed deerskin, with or without hair. Sometimes the back was a duplicate of the front.

Almost all women's dresses were made of dressed skins of deer, elk, and antelope.

Many women wore belts over their dresses. Some of these were richly quilled. Many wore small paint pouches attached to the belt.[90] These generally were quilled on the outside and had a fringe at the bottom. Other kinds of light bags were also sometimes attached to the belt or sewed to the skirt of the dress.[91] Some served the purpose of pockets.

Bodices.—It seems that no bodices,[92] or short skirts with long fringes, were used by women. These were only used by tribes along Columbia River, especially near The Dalles. It is said, however, that long ago some old women of poor families, who had not enough skin to make dresses, wore aprons of skin with long fringes. These were tied around the waist. Over this they wore only a robe. This may have been the same as the bodice used along Columbia River, or it may have been somewhat different.

Leggings.—All women wore leather leggings. They reached to the knee and were fringed along the outer sides. A few extended a little above the knee. Some leggings were closed and had to be pulled up over the feet. They were fastened below the knee with garters or with a draw string. Others were open on the outside of the leg and were fastened with tie strings. Many had beaded designs, especially on the lower part; others had cross fringes, one above the other, for ornament.[93]

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[89] See Thompson specimens, Ottawa photographs Nos. 35409, 35408.

[90] See Ottawa Mus., No. VI, M. 386.

[91] See Thompson specimens with small bags sewed to the dress. Peabody Mus., 316, 341, 347; and Ottawa photographs, 27093, 27075.

[92] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 185; and Ottawa Mus., No. 139.

[93] See Thompson specimen with cross fringes, Peabody Mus. No. 351.

Children's Clothes.—Children generally went bareheaded in good weather and also often barefooted except when traveling. Some wore long skirts and dresses without leggings, and others small robes. Leggings were used by some in conjunction with aprons or with breechclouts. Many boys went almost nude in warm weather. Ponchos of spotted fawn skin were much used by boys. They were worn loose or confined with a belt around the waist. Sleeveless poncho shirts of skins dressed in the hair, like some used by men, and tied or laced at the sides, were also in use. Usually they consisted of single skins or parts of larger skins. A common dress of girls consisted of two fawn skins sewed together. Some were sewed only on the shoulders and laced or stitched here and there at the sides. They were worn with the hair side out. All children's clothes were dressed quite soft. Lads and young women dressed almost like adults.

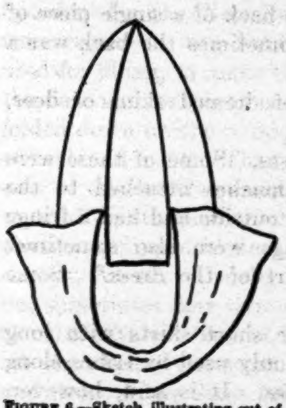

Figure 6.—Sketch illustrating cut of moccasin

Moccasins.—Moccasins were generally made of dressed buckskin and were of five main kinds:

1. A single-piece moccasin, with seam around the outside of the foot. This style was common to all the interior Salishan tribes, to the Nez Percé, and to some other tribes.[94]

2. A two-piece moccasin, with short tongue, seam down the front of the foot, and a short crosscut at the toe. This style is used by some of the interior Salishan and many Athapascan tribes, but among the latter the cross seam at the toe is generally longer than among the Salish.[95]

3 *a*. A two-piece moccasin like No. 2, with short tongue, and a seam down the front of the foot from tongue to toe. The seam ends in a small gathering at the toe and also at the bottom of the heel, so there is no trailer. This kind was also used by the Thompson.[96]

3 *b*. A moccasin (which seems to have been often called by the same name as the last) differing from 3 *a* in the form of the tongue, which consists of a long triangular piece placed in the middle and ending in a sharp point at the toe.[97] It was not very common. (Fig. 6.)

4. A two-piece moccasin with long tongue and round toe, like some eastern moccasins.[98]

5. A two-piece moccasin, the sole being a separate piece, like many moccasins used by Plains tribes.[99]

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[94] See Thompson Indians, *a*, fig. 169; Nez Percé; *b*, pp. 216, 217; *c*, fig. 78.

[95] See Thompson Indians, *a*, fig. 171.

[96] *a*, fig. 172.

[97] Also *c*, fig. 88.

[98] See Thompson Indians, fig. 170.

[99] See *c*, fig. 79.

Types Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are said to have been the only kinds used long ago, and of these probably No. 1 was the most common. No. 5 came into use after the introduction of the horse, and was probably copied from styles of moccasins used by tribes farther east. No. 4 came in at a later date with the fur traders and was less used than any of the other kinds. The Coeur d'Alêne named it "white man's moccasin" and "Chippewa moccasin." Most moccasins had trailers of various styles. All moccasins had uppers or gaiters of skin, folded around the ankle and tied with the ends of the moccasin strings. Both sexes wore the same styles. Long ago most of the moccasins were devoid of ornamentation, but later on some were painted or embroidered, especially on the tongue; others were embroidered with quills or beads over the entire front and on the sides as well. Summer moccasins were made to fit the foot much more snugly than winter moccasins. Some winter moccasins were made of skin of buffalo, deer, and elk, with the hair inside. They were of the same cuts as others. In early times board lasts similar to those used by the Shuswap were in common use.

Socks.—No woven socks or inside shoes of cedar, sage, or any other bark were made. Sage does not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country. In wintertime pieces of dressed deerskin or buffalo skin, with the hair on, were wrapped around the foot or roughly shaped to the foot by sewing up the front, the heel part being left open. Usually they were long enough to reach up over the back of the heel. Otherwise dry grass was used inside of moccasins. In summer no filling of the moccasin was used.

Mittens.—No gloves were made long ago, but mittens made of various kinds of skin dressed in the hair were commonly used in cold weather, worn hair side out. Some were short, but most of them were long. Many were made of coyote skin. Almost a whole skin was used for each long mitten, as they reached almost to the shoulders, and were fastened with a string around the neck. Long mittens of coyote and lynx skins were considered the warmest to wear when paddling.

Men's Caps and Headbands.—In cold weather men generally wore round, rather high caps of fisher, fox, coyote, and other furs. The tail of the animal hung down behind. Some were made of cased skins, the hair being both outside and in. In mild weather headbands of various kinds were worn. Feather headdresses were used only at gatherings, dances, when going buffalo hunting, and on war expeditions, and were seldom or never worn when traveling in the woods or when hunting. A great many different kinds of headbands set with feathers were in use. For these the tail feathers of the golden eagle were most frequently used; but tail feathers of other times attached behind. Small feathers in their natural color or dyed and small tufts of hair were often wrapped around the small ends of large feathers used in headdresses. Colored feathers were also attached to the ends of strings and fringes of skin.

A few headbands of rawhide, made like the brim of a cowboy's hat and painted with designs, were sometimes used as eye shades in sunny weather.[106] Another kind of headband fairly common was made of parts of a buffalo hide having stiff hair, and other similar ones were made of the skin of a horse's tail split lengthwise, and the hair clipped to within about 10 centimeters of the skin. In these headbands the stiff hair stuck out all around the head, and acted as an eye shade, although they were not always specially used as such.

Some boy's caps and headbands were ornamented with the tails of hawks, flickers, grouse, etc., spread out like a fan, and attached to the front or to both the front and back of the cap.

Woman's Caps.—Headbands of skin embroidered with quills, beads, or shells were used by some young women; but most women, when fully dressed, wore caps. It seems that the kind in most frequent use was the basket cap, common also to the Nez Percé[107] and other tribes. It was fez-shaped, and ornamented at the crown with a small fringe of loose strings (or sometimes loops) of skin on which were often strung beads and shells. The weave is said to have been exactly the same as that employed by the Nez Percé[108] and other neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Among the Coeur d'Alêne they were made of fine twine of Indian hemp which was covered on the outside of the cap with grass (probably *Xerophyllum tenax*) excepting generally the crown or the middle of the crown. In most cases grass in its natural yellowish-white color formed the background for the designs, which were made of dyed grass, yellow and green being the colors most used. (See p. 55.) Sometimes designs were made entirely in natural colors. When put on the cap, as a rule the white stems were used as the field color, green ones for the designs, and yellow ones as borders to the designs.[109] In later days colored yarn, respun from shredded woolen blankets, was often substituted for the native materials.

Skin caps were also used by some women. They were all more or less conical or pointed at the top; but some were rounded and low, somewhat like skullcaps. Some were ornamented with fringes, and many had a fringe or tassel at the crown, like the basket caps. Beads and shells were sometimes strung on the tassel. Nearly all skin caps were further ornamented with beaded or quilled lines and zigzags. Zigzag designs were also common on basket caps. The skin caps appear to have been of the same kind in every way as those used by women of the Thompson [110] and other Salishan tribes.

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[106] See Nez Percé, b, fig. 5, No. 4.

[107] b, Pl. VI, Nos. 15, 16.

[108] b, fig. 4.

[109] See c, pl. 66.

Woven Ponchos, Rain Cloaks.—No woven-bark clothes were made or used, except a few ponchos and cloaks that were worn long ago by some people in rainy weather. Both kinds reached to the hips and were worn over the ordinary clothes. Most of them were made of dry bark of willow trees which had been burned (?), and they were woven in the same way as mats sometimes used for serving food on. (See p. 47.) Others were made of cedar bark and a very few of rushes. In shape the ponchos seem to have been like those of sage bark made by the Thompson.[111] None of the oldest people now living have seen any of these garments. It is said that they were used only by a few poor people who had few robes or blankets. Others, in rainy weather, if they were temporarily without robes, or if they did not wish to wet their robes, covered themselves over the shoulders, or sometimes over the head and shoulders, with ordinary mats, which they fastened with a wooden pin at the breast.

Fans were made of tails of birds, like the eagle or hawk. Some of them had the butt end inclosed in skin, and embroidered or otherwise ornamented.

Ornamentation and Designs on Clothing.—Most garments had more or less embroidery made with quills. Porcupine quills were chiefly used, and were arranged to display their natural black and white colors. They were also dyed; and most quillwork was made in three colors—white, red, and yellow. I did not learn with certainty the exact methods of applying the quills but it is said that there were several ways. They were twisted and wrapped, braided, or sewed to the skin. The quills were sewed on straight, with a simple stitch, as in the technique No. 3, mentioned by Wissler for the Blackfoot;[112] or they were put on obliquely with the same kind of stitch, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 5.[113] In still other cases they crossed each other, probably as in the Blackfoot technique No. 6.[114] The twisted quillwork appears to have been like the Blackfoot technique No. 10.[115] Fringes were occasionally decorated by being wrapped with quills, but I did not obtain a very clear idea of the method employed. It seems, however, to have been similar to Blackfoot technique No. 12.[116]

Quill flatteners made of wood, antler, and bone were used. In later days the back of an iron knife was often employed. Both unsplit and split quills were in use. It seems porcupine quills were generally used unsplit.

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[110] a, fig. 191.
[111] a, fig. 194.
[112] c, fig. 15 and p. 56.
[113] c, fig. 18 and pp. 56, 57.
[114] c, fig. 19 and p. 57.
[115] c, fig. 23 and p. 59; also specimens Peabody Mus., No. 166, and Field Mus., 111755.
[116] c, fig. 25 and p. 60.

In later days beadwork largely supplanted quillwork. Much beadwork consisted of designs distributed so that the skin formed the background, but solid beadwork covering the whole surface was also common. White was the usual color for the background; light blue was fairly common; and red and yellow were used occasionally. Beads were usually sewed down so as to make a rigid, flat, uniform surface. Rather frequently, however, the beads were sewed down at regular intervals, giving the surface a ridged appearance.[17] Designs in both quillwork and beadwork were mostly geometric (fig. 7); but floral designs were also used long ago and in later days became most common, though never as common as among the Nez Percé.

Some clothes were painted with designs, generally in red; but brown, yellow, blue, and black were sometimes also used. Occasionally the outlines of designs were edged with narrow lines in another color. Sometimes on women's dresses and men's shirts rather large round circles were painted in red or blue, or occasionally in yellow edged with red. These circles were made on the breasts of shirts, and sometimes also on the upper arms and other places. Sometimes a large circle was painted in the middle of the breast and two smaller ones a little lower down to the sides, about over the nipples. Occasionally two circles were painted on the back of the shoulders. The meaning of these designs seems to be unknown. The same painted ornamentation was in vogue among the Thompson.[18] Dresses were sometimes painted with horizontal lines and zigzags near the bottom of the skirt. Quilled and beaded lines on yokes of women's dresses, or below and following the lines of the yoke, were often parallel, about an inch apart. The lines or bands were

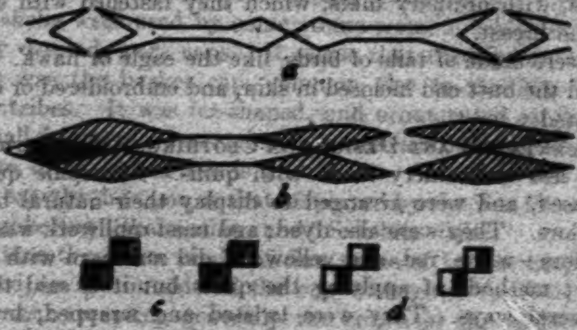

FIGURE 7.—Designs in quillwork and beadwork on clothing

about an inch wide, or sometimes more, and were composed of oblongs and squares alternating in different colors. Sometimes all the lines were placed close together, so that the whole formed a field of solid beadwork. Horizontal meandering and zigzag beaded lines were also fairly common on the upper parts of women's dresses. Generally there were two or several of these at equal distances, one above another. Another ornamentation on dresses consisted of a fairly wide beaded line following the tops of the shoulders, and another following the edge of the yoke. Narrower vertical lines about 5 to 7 cm. apart connected the two all around. Beaded lines, one to four in number, composed of checks and oblongs, were often embroidered on the skirts of dresses.[119] The lines were 5 or 7 centimeters apart or more, following the bottom of the dress. On some men's shirts and women's dresses there was an embroidered or painted triangular line on the front and back. The end pointed downward, reaching almost to the waist. Inside the area inclosed by the line there were often small detached designs of dots, crosses, or triangles; and on painted shirts, sometimes realistic figures of men, weapons, animals, moon, etc. Sometimes the whole area was in solid beadwork. Some men's shirts were almost entirely covered with tiny spots of red paint, which, according to some, represented blood.

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[17] See Coeur d'Alêne bag, Peabody Mus., Coeur d'Alêne, No. 1.

[18] See 4, fig. 191, also Thompson specimens Ottawa, VI, M. 401, Peabody Mus., 220, 342, Field Mus., 111784.

Robes were painted with straight and zigzag lines and other geometric figures, as well as with pictographs of mountains, lakes, people, and animals. Some pictographs represented incidents in dreams, incidents and feats in war and the chase; and some were representations of the guardian spirit and of objects connected with it. After hunting began on the Plains the old styles of pictographs fell into disuse to some extent and paintings on robes became for the most part pictures, made as realistic as possible, of personal encounters, battles, etc., after the style of the Crow Indians. Long ago designs were also made on robes by scratching off the outer layer of skin with a sharp bone.[120] As a rule, they consisted chiefly of small triangles and straight lines, made in various forms and combinations. Sometimes long lines were made, with short lines radiating from them; triangles, diamond-shaped figures, and squares. Lines of triangles, called "arrowheads," were also made, and stepped triangles called "mountains." It is said that no designs were made on robes or clothes by searing. Elk and deer skin robes very often had the hair cut in parallel, horizontal, vertical, or diagonal stripes about 5 cm. in width. The hair in the lines was either uniformly clipped halfway down to the roots, or it was clipped in steps.[121] A few had small spaces of bare skin between the steps which were painted red.

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[119] See Pend d'Oreille (Flathead) specimen, Field Mus., 111909.

[120] See designs made on buffalo-skin pouch of Thompson; a, fig. 200; also f, p. 192.

[121] See Thompson, a, pl. 18, and Thompson specimen Field Mus., 111915.

Headbands often had painted or embroidered zigzag and triangular ("arrowhead") designs. Stepped designs also were used. Nearly all the women's basket-caps had zigzag designs. A three-pointed zigzag was most common. Stepped and checkered designs also occurred.

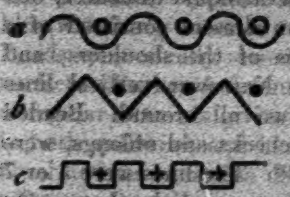

FIGURE 8.—Designs from headbands

Quilled, beaded, or painted zigzag designs were also common on skin caps. Both sharp-pointed and round-pointed zigzags were common; square-pointed zigzag also occurred. The spaces between the points of the zigzags were sometimes filled in with small designs, such as dots, circles, triangles, etc.[128] (Fig. 8.) Straight lines, generally horizontal, but not infrequently vertical, and occasionally diagonal; zigzags and triangles with both plain and stepped edges; figures composed of small checks, diamond-shaped figures, and crosses of various kinds, some of them called "stars," were all common designs on nearly all kinds of clothing.

Fringing, pinking, and puncturing were all common methods of ornamenting seams, edges, and flaps.[129] Red lines were also often painted on seams.

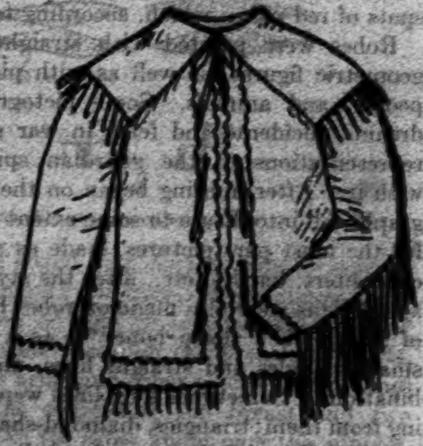

FIGURE 9.—[illegible] [illegible] cut of modern coat

MODERN CLOTHING.—After the advent of the fur traders the tribe began to use cloth for making leggings and some other parts of clothing, and woolen blankets took the place of robes. New garments were also introduced, such as gloves, coats, vests, and trousers. (Fig. 9.) These new forms of clothing were made by the Indians themselves out of dressed skin as well as of blankets and cloth.[130] Styles of cutting and ornamenting the new kinds of garments were evolved, and new styles of cutting and ornamenting men's skin shirts and women's dresses came into vogue. A great variety of clothes were now worn—clothes of old style in cut and ornamentation, those of the new style, and all degrees of variations between them, resulting from modifications of the old-style clothes and of the new styles copied from the whites. However, much of the old-style clothing continued to be used up to the end of the buffalo hunting. After permanent settlement on the reserve, when the Indians took up farming, the change became very rapid, especially as the surrounding country was becoming settled. Many stores sprang up, where the Indians could get supplies of ready-made clothing. Old-style clothes continued to be worn only at dances and on special occasions. Some few years ago the dances were given up under the influence of the priests; and now, it seems, no Indian clothing is used at all, the tribe dressing in every way much as do the neighboring whites. Moccasins, however, are still used a good deal.

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[128] See Thompson, a, fig. 197.

[129] For puncturing of garments, see Thompson, a, 183, 184; Lillooet, k, p. 220; also f, p. 182.

[130] See Thompson blanket, poncho, or shirt, Field Mus., No. 111914.

Ornaments.—Throat necklaces and breast necklaces were used by both sexes. Most of the former were of the type used by the Thompson.[125] They were of soft skin padded with sweet-grass, beaver castor, hair, etc., and covered with solid beadwork on the outside. They were tied at the back of the neck. Another kind, wider, flatter, and stiffer (more like a collar), and covered with shells set horizontally, was used by some men. These were like the necklaces worn by many of the Flathead, Kutenai, and other tribes farther east.

The breast necklaces were single or multiple. The former consisted of beads or shells strung on a thong or on a string of sinew or Indian hemp, which passed around the neck. They were of various lengths, and were generally provided with a pendant of large shell or copper suspended from the bight of the necklace in front. Sometimes several of these necklaces were worn at the same time. One kind of beaded necklace used by women reached to the navel.

The multiple necklace was worn more by men, and consisted of a series of thin necklaces of increasing length attached, one below the other, to a heavier one. The highest was near the neck; the lowest reached down to the waist. There were different ways of making and arranging these.[126] Breastplates of long polished bone beads were used by men.[127] They were like the breastplates used by the Flathead and Plains tribes, and were first adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne about the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to some informants, the bones were polished buffalo bones made by the tribes east of the Coeur d'Alêne; while others claim that they were introduced by the fur traders and were quite unknown to all Indian tribes long ago. The materials strung for necklaces before traders' beads came into vogue were dentalium shells (and possibly a larger shell like it); flat, disk-shaped beads of bone and shell; hoofs of fawn, entire or cut in small triangle-shaped pieces, with notched edges; tubular beads of copper formed by rolling and beating sheets or beads of copper over slender round sticks; feathers; quills; certain small round bones of animals (and possibly fish); teeth of elk, horse, and wolf (horse and wolf teeth were generally used by men); and claws of bear and other animals (also used by men only). Necklaces of grizzly bear's claws, generally set on a band of skin or fur, were used only by men, especially warriors. Some of the most common pendants to necklaces were abalone shells (procured in trade), certain fresh-water shells, flat pieces of copper cut in various shapes, and small, flat polished stones. Charms of various kinds were often attached to necklaces.

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[125] a, fig. 200.

[126] See Nez Percé, b, pp. 217, 218.

[127] See Nez Percé, b, p. 217, and pl. 10, No. 1.

Nose Ornaments.—Nose pins were used by many women and by some men. They were of three kinds: (1) A single large dentalium shell, or two shells fitting into each other.[138] (2) A bird's quill scraped thin and transparent and stuffed with down, which was sometimes dyed. (3) A rod of bone (some of them nearly a finger-length long) ornamented with incised designs, and usually polished.[139] Many of these nose pins had tufts of bright-colored feathers glued into the ends, the bone pins being hollowed out for the purpose. The scalp of the red-headed woodpecker was the kind most used. No nose rings or crescent-shaped ornaments were used in the nose; and labrets were also unknown. After the tribe began to go to the Plains for buffalo hunting nose pins rapidly went out of style. The Nez Percé and the tribes to the south used them, but none of the tribes to the east.

Ear Ornaments.—Ear ornaments were much worn by both sexes. They consisted chiefly of pendants of fresh-water shells, natural color and painted, pieces of abalone shell, and dentalium shells. The latter often had tufts of the red-headed woodpecker scalp drawn with a string into the wide ends, or glued there. Various kinds of beads, and small, square, oblong, or triangular pieces of copper, were also used as ear ornaments. From one to four holes were bored in the ear from the lobe around the helix, and as many pendants might be worn as there were holes. Slender rods of wood (*matsamatsat'zlp*) *Spiraea*? (sp.) were worn in the ears by children. Pendants were attached to the ear with strings. No earrings of any kind were used.

Hair Ornaments.—Some men used long strips of otter skin and ermine skin to wrap around or to braid into the cues of the hair. Strings of beads or shells, or of both mixed, were also tied to the hair or braided into it. These were used by both sexes, but chiefly by women. Pendants of twisted fur were attached to the hair by men; and pendent hair ribbons of long narrow pieces of skin, quilled or beaded,[140] were worn by both sexes. Similar ribbons of embroidered skin were also used for wrapping round the hair or binding it. In later days silk ribbons, colored braid, and strips of red and blue cloth took the place of most of these. Women wore hair ribbons of short pieces of skin embroidered on one side with quill or bead work.

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[138] See Thompson, a, fig. 197.

[139] See Thompson, a, fig. 196.

[140] See Thompson, a, fig. 177.

They were provided with strings for tying around the braids of the hair. Some had oblong flaps of skin about 15 centimeters in length, covered with quill or bead work, and fringed at the lower end. To the fringe were often attached beads, shells, or elk's teeth. The hair ribbons hung down on the outside of the cues and were fastened around the hair with tie strings. Generally they were attached to the hair near the ears.[131] It seems that long ago some of the young men also wore similar hair ribbons; but they were ornamented somewhat differently, and sometimes had feathers attached to them.[132] It also appears that scalp locks and strings of false hair were sometimes attached to the hair of men.

Arm Rings.—Bracelets consisting of strings of shells and native beads were used long ago. Later bracelets were made of glass beads, and still later of metal (generally copper or brass) procured from the traders. Strings of deer and fawn hoofs were worn on the legs in dancing. Most of them were worn around the knees and ankles of dancers; but some were used as belts or armlets, while others were held in the hands. Armlets, wristlets, cuffs, and garters of embroidered skin have already been mentioned.

Combs.—Combs were all of the fan-shaped type, made of syringa (*Philadelphus lewisii*) like those of the Thompson.[133] According to Spinden, Nez Percé combs were also of this type.[134]

Tweezers.—Depilation was practiced by both sexes. The men eradicated their beards and mustaches and the women narrowed the hair of the eyebrows and straightened the hair line of the brow by pulling out all irregular and straggling hairs. A well-defined hair line was admired. It seems that eradication of the pubic hair and of hair on other parts of the body was not practiced. Tweezers were used for pulling out hair. They were made of wood and horn, and appear to have been of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson.[135] In later days all of them were made of metal. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any tweezers excepting those of metal.

Hairdressing.—The hair was dressed in a great many different ways, there being special names for most or all the styles. At least 20 different styles were described to me:

1. Worn loose and full length excepting in front, where it was cut in bangs across the forehead from temple to temple. If the hair was very long, it was gathered behind and tied at the back of the neck. This was the common style for children.

2. Gathered at the back of the neck and tied in a knot there. This was the common style used by lads at puberty.[136]

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[131] See Thompson specimens, Peabody Mus., 394, 395, etc.

[132] See Shuswap, *c*, fig. 231.

[133] *a*, fig. 201, 202, 203.

[134] *b*, p. 221.

[135] *a*, fig. 210.

[136] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 209.

3. Gathered to the sides and tied in a knot near each ear. This was the common style of girls at puberty.[37]

4. Cut square across the back of the neck, or sometimes lower down, about on a line with the tops of the shoulders. This was the style of widows and all people in mourning.

5. Gathered at the sides and braided full length in a single cue at each side. This was a common style for both men and women; but the women always parted their hair in the middle, while many men parted theirs slightly to one side.

6. The same as No. 5, but the ends of the cues were tied together and worn on the back. This was a common style for women, but was never used by men. For women it is said to have come into use in the early part of the nineteenth century. Many people say that long ago braids of hair were tied together and hung down on the back.

7. The same as No. 5, but each cue braided for only from half to three-quarters of its length, where it was tied, and the ends allowed to hang loose. This was a woman's style.

8. Gathered at the sides and simply tied at each side on a line with the neck. This also was a common style for women.

9. Part of the side hair braided on each side (the lower part next to the face and ears) or rolled in wads, more and more hair being caught in the braid, until at the back all the hair was in one braid or the other. The braids were then untied and folded upward to the back of the neck and tied. This was a woman's style less common than the others, and used chiefly by young women.

10. Braided in two plaits on each side. A man's style, used by a few.

11. Gathered at the sides in two cues, the same as No. 5, and strips of otter skin interbraided with the hair or wrapped about it. A man's style.

12. Gathered together loosely at each side (without braiding), and tied rather close to the head. This seems to have been called the same name as No. 11, probably because of the similar attachments to the hair. Hair ribbons of several kinds, beaded strings, strips of otter skin and ermine skins, braids of scalp locks, scalps, etc., were attached to the hair. A man's style.

13. Simply combed back and tied behind. This style was chiefly used by men.

14. (*a*) Divided into three parts and gathered at each side and at the back, where it was tied close to the head.

(*b*) Sometimes the hair at the sides was braided and the hair at the back left loose. The hair was full length, not doubled up. A man's style.

15. (*a*) The front hair was done up in two small braids, one at each temple; and strings of beads or shells were interwoven in the

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[37] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 303.

braids or attached to them. Usually the rest of the hair was loose or merely tied at the back of the neck.

(*b*) Sometimes the front hair was divided into three parts. If the person had a cut forelock it hung down in the middle above the nose and the small braids lay just back of the eyes over the temples. This was a fairly common man's style of hairdressing.

16. (*a*) The side hair was cut on a level with the neck or shoulders and tied at each side. Rarely was it left loose. The back hair was left full length and tied close to the head. To it was attached the entire head, back, and tail of an otter. Sometimes, instead, hair ribbons and beaded strings of various kinds were attached to the back hair. This was a common style for men.

(*b*) Instead of being merely tied, both the side hair and the back hair were braided in cues, three in all. Ornaments were attached to the braids. This style of hairdressing was rare.

17. Forelocks were used by many men. Usually the lock was narrow and cut even with the top of the nose. Sometimes it was combed down flat over the middle of the brow, but more generally it was crimped, so that the end curled up. Occasionally the short crimping-rod was worn in the hair. Hairdressing with forelock had a special name. Rarely was the forelock braided. The rest of the hair might be done up in any fashion. It seems that women never had forelocks, at least not like those of the men.

18. The top hair combed back from the brow, then brought forward and tied in a bunch above the brow or on the top of the head,[illegible] but not braided or stiffened with clay. The rest of the hair was fixed in different ways—tied together at the sides, made into a braid at each side, or made into small braids at the temples, the rest being tied behind the neck or left to hang loose. This was a man's style.

19. All the hair gathered on the top of the head, and tied there, with the loose end upward and protruding or hanging forward. Occasionally the knot was pointed, and stiffened with red mud or paint. This was a warrior's style.

20. Much the same way as No. 19, but the hair rose in a high point above the top of the head. A bunch of dry tules tied together was set on end on the top of the head to form a support for the hair, which was bound all round it. The ends of the tules protruded above the hair. The crown of the head, and all the lower hair next to the head, were well saturated with water. A woman then lighted the ends of the tules, which burned down with the upright hair until the whole point or "horn" became flat and the fire went out in the wet hair next the head. This style was used by some men when dancing the scalp dance.

[illegible] See Thompson, c, fig. 207, but without braiding.

Sometimes the hair was painted red or white by men, all over or in parts. Down was sometimes put in the hair. Almost all people of both sexes painted the partings of the hair red. The red lines followed the bare skin exposed by the parting. Many people oiled their hair regularly with pieces of hard fine tallow or with bear's grease. A hair parter of wood was used for parting the hair evenly. The points of combs were also used. Loose untied hair was often crimped.[19] Rods of an unidentified reddish wood were used for the purpose. The wood was heated, and the lock rolled around it. At the present day nearly all the men have their hair close cut, like the whites. A few of the old men wear it long or cut across the neck. Most of the women wear their hair in two braids tied at the back or hanging loose at the sides.

PERFUMES.—Scents were much used by both sexes, and especially by young people. Sweet grass (*Hierochloe odorata*) and other strong-smelling grasses and leaves were used. Small rolls of these were made up and often inclosed in skin. They were used as pads inclosed in knots or folds of the hair, or simply attached to it. Sometimes tiny bags of these scents were made up for attachment to the hair and clothing, or to be placed in workbags, workbaskets, and clothes bags, to perfume the contents. Sometimes the bags were sewed on to wearing apparel permanently. The fragrant leaves from which the scent was made were often dried, then powdered fine and poured into sacks, which were sewed up like tiny cushions. They were used in the same way as the rolls and small bags with strings attached. Powdered scents were frequently rubbed on necklaces, hair ornaments, clothes, the skin of the body, and the hair. A small skin bag about 4 by 3 centimeters in size, entirely covered on the outside with quill or bead work and provided with strings, was filled with scent and attached to the back of the hair as an ornament. Slender rolls of sweet grass without any covering were often wrapped in the hair. Besides vegetable scents, beaver castor was much used. Some people also used parings from the hard, strong-smelling gland inside of horses' legs. The parings were crushed fine and inclosed in skin bags.

FACE AND BODY PAINTING.—The face and body were painted in various ways, but I did not find time to go into this matter in detail. Painting was in solid masses and in designs. Some of the latter are said to have had no known significance, being merely for ornament, while other designs were connected with dreams and the guardian spirit. Some designs were considered protective in battle, while others were more for good luck. However, some styles of painting were mere fashions; and, according to some, this was the prevailing motive for their selection. The most common paint was red, but yellow was also used frequently; also white, black, and blue. The hair on the crown of the head was frequently painted red, yellow, or white with dry paint.

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[19] Many Shoshoni and Bannock are said to have worn their hair loose and crimped.

Paints were applied dry, mixed with water, mixed with grease or oil, and occasionally mixed with gum. Pencils of hard fat dipped in paint were used, as among the Thompson. Painting was also done with small sticks, brushes, and the finger tips. People helped each other much in painting each other's faces and combing and arranging each other's hair. As among the Thompson, the jaw of a deer with the teeth adhering was used for scraping parallel lines in face paint. Stamps were also employed; or the design was first painted on the palm, and then pressed against the face. Many women painted their eyebrows red. A round spot on each cheek, and sometimes also one on the brow, was a common pattern used by women.

A circle of charcoal or red paint mixed with gum was made around each eye to aid the sight when there was a bright glare of sun on snow, sand, or water. It was also used for weak eyes. Sometimes a line or half circle above the eyes was made instead of a complete circle. Scars on any exposed parts of the body were painted red, as among the Thompson and other tribes.

SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was practiced chiefly by young men.[169]

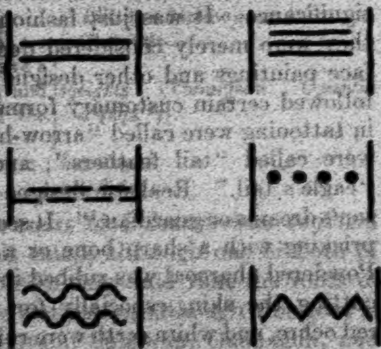

FIGURE 10.—Wrist tattooing

TATTOOING.—It seems that tattooing was common long ago, and was practiced by both sexes. Most marks were made on the forearms and wrists. They consisted of both geometric and realistic figures. The former were chiefly long horizontal lines (generally from one to four); short horizontal lines with spaces between them, or sometimes placed one above the other; zigzag lines, with either sharp or rounded points; triangles of various kinds; and dots (usually from one to four). (Fig. 10.) Sometimes the lines completely surrounded the wrist, but usually they were made on the back of the wrist only. The realistic figures were chiefly representations of bear, elk, deer, snakes, mountains, arrows, and the like. The legs were often also tattooed, the principal figures being lines and dots. A line was often made around or on the outside of the leg just above the ankles. A dot was often tattooed on the instep. Men sometimes also tattooed figures of animals on the legs. Tattooing on the body was done only

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[169] See p. 169.

9. *Rubus* sp. (probably thimble berry) (or possibly salmonberry).	*po'lpolqᴇn.*
10. *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl. (blackberry or black raspberry).	*mä'lxu'q* (Thompson: *mä'.lcuk, mä'lcak*).
11. *Rubus* sp. (trailing or low blackberry or bramble).	*ti'ltcᴇlsluᴍᴇxʷ* (Thompson: *tä'tᴇl.äm.*
12. *Ribes* sp. (red gooseberry)	*nt'i't'ᴇmᴇlps.*
13. *Ribes* sp. (black gooseberry)	*ya'rtcᴇn.*
14. *Ribes* sp. (wild currant)	*tsᴇ'rus* (Thompson: Oregon grape *tsä'l.xa*, Okanagon *.stsᴇ'res*)
15. *Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt. (soapberry or buffaloberry).	*sxo'sᴇm* (Thompson: *sxō'sᴇm, shō.'sᴇm*).
16. *Fragaria californica* C. and S. (strawberry).	*stsa'qom* (Thompson: service berry *.stsa'qum, .sts'ō'qom*).
17. *Vaccinium membranaceum* (huckleberry or whortleberry).	*stäcō'* (*stk*).
18. *Vaccinium* sp. (white huckleberry)	(*sᴇn*) *poqpoqa'qᴇn.*
19. *Vaccinium* sp. (small blueberry)	*stä'qin.*
20. *Berberis* sp. (Oregon grape)	*sqwä'yu* (Thompson: berry of mountain ash *.skä'u*, roseberry *s.hōkwä'u*).
21. *Arctostaphylus uva-ursi* (bearberry)	*i'ltc* (Thompson *ä'ik, äi'sk;* raspberry *.sdilsku, .sei'tck*).
22. *Rosa* sp. (roseberry)	*tsᴇxᴇmlsᴇxᴇmᴇxwsiyᴇ'pä* .

The berries of *Prunus emarginata* were eaten only occasionally. *Shepherdia* (or soapberry), it is said, does not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and, according to some, is not found east of the Colville country. It was procured in trade.

The following berries were not eaten:

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
Sorbus sambucifolia E. and S. (mountain ash berry).	*wa'xa'lᴇp.*
Lonicera involucrata	*.sa'mpaqᴇn.*
Juniperus, two sp. (juniper berry).	
Symphoricarpus racemosus Mich. (snowberry)	*st'ᴇmst'ᴇmne''* (*lᴇqᴇn*) ("dead people's berry" or "dead head").
A blackberry growing in the high mountains, possibly the heath berry.	*tsᴇ'ᴇxptᴇlp* ("black plant") (Thompson: *sts'ptapt*, black; *stsᴇ'lpᴇᴇc* Ribes, sp.).

SEEDS, NUTS, AND OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

Latin name	Coeur d'Alêne name
Nuts of the hazel tree. Hazel did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and the nuts were procured from the Colville through the Spokan.[a]	*qᴇ'e'pᴇxᴇc* (Thompson: *.qapᴇx*).
Nutlets of the yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*)	*stsᴇtsᴇ'tcᴇ'* (Thompson: *.stsikk*).
Nutlets of the silver-barked pine (*Pinus albicaulis*).	*sowᴇ'stlc.*
Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*, one or two sp., possibly also seeds of *Helianthus* sp.	*mᴇ'ltcin* (Thompson: *mᴇ'ktc*).

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[a] Any kind of nut.—N. Richard.

Cambium layer of yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*).	*stsi'x̣we* (Thompson: *stse'x̣we*).
Cambium layer of black pine (*Pinus contorta* or *murrayana*).	*stsisamox̣ise'nεm.*
Cambium layer of the poplar (*Populus* sp.) was eaten occasionally.	
Growing stalks of *Balsamorrhiza*	*smo''kwacεm.*
Growing stalks of *Heracleum lanatum* Mich. (cow parsnip or wild rhubarb).	*x̣o'x̣lp.*
Growing stalks of *Peucedanum* sp. (wild celery)	*pä'qui.*
The black tree moss, *Alectoria jubata* L. Much used long ago.	*sä'ic'xict.*

The *Opuntia* (*sx̣u'wĕnätc*) was known to many of the Coeur d'Alêne, but was not eaten. It did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, but in the arid country to the southwest and in some parts of the plains region.

Tools and Methods of Harvesting.—The growing stalks of *Heracleum*, *Peucedanum*, and *Balsamorrhiza* were merely plucked, peeled, and eaten raw. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* were heated with hot stones and crushed. Berries were picked by hand into baskets of several kinds. Some varieties of berry, when very ripe, were gathered by bending the twigs or branches over the mouth of the basket and beating them with a short stick, thus making the berries fall. Small blueberries were sometimes collected by combing them into the basket.

Roots were dug with root diggers and gathered into baskets. When most kinds of baskets had gone out of use, woven bags were generally employed for gathering roots. Root diggers were of the same sizes and shapes as those in use among the Thompson Indians.[143] Some were round, the wood being used in its natural form. Many others were more or less square excepting near the point. The latter kind had a better grip in the ground. The curve of the digging stick varied. Those used in soft ground were wide and curved, while those used in hard ground were rounded and almost straight. The points were often hardened by charring. Root diggers were made of the wood of service trees (*Amelanchier*), haw trees (*Crataegus*), or syringa (*Philadelphus lewisi* Pursh). The handles were of elk antler. None were of sheep's horn, and only a few were made of goat's horn. Wooden handles were hardly ever used. No stone handles like those described by Spinden for the Nez Percé were used.[144] Long ago root diggers were occasionally made, both handle and blade, of a single piece of elk antler.

For gathering the cambium and sap of the black pine, sap scrapers were used. They were made from the shoulder blades of various animals, with little alteration.[145] No double-ended ones were used, as among Athapascan tribes and the northern Shuswap.[146] Sap scrapers were often drilled at the small end for the attachment of a carrying string. Scrapers for collecting the cambium of the yellow pine were knife-shaped and made from the rib bones of various animals, as among the Thompson. For stripping the bark from yellow pine trees, bark peelers of wood and antler were used. In the case of black pine trees, after the cut had been made, the bark could generally be peeled by hand. In this tree the cambium layer adheres to the trunk, and the scrapers were pressed downward along the latter, removing the cambium in narrow ribbons, which, if not eaten at once, were collected, along with as much sap as possible, in large spoons or in small bark cups or baskets. In the yellow pine the process is different, as the bark is much thicker and stiffer, and the cambium layer adheres to the bark, from which, after stripping, it is separated or cut and pried off with a knife-like bone instrument.

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[143] *a*, fig. 212.

[144] *b*, p. 200, Pl. VII, 33.

PRESERVATION OF VEGETAL FOODS, COOKING, DISHES.—The manner of preparing berries and roots for winter use was much the same as among the Thompson.[147] Some roots were strung on strings and dried. Others were dried by being spread out, and hung up in sacks of rather open weave. Several kinds of roots were cooked in earth ovens or pits, after the manner of the Thompson and Nez Percé.[148] The pits were circular, and their width and depth depended on the kind and quantity of roots to be cooked.

Mó'smam roots (p. 89, No. 9) were cooked as follows. Hot rocks were placed in the bottom of the pit and a layer of mud or wet clay spread over the top. The roots were put on top of the mud and covered thickly with grass. The whole was then covered with earth. An upright stick was left in the middle, the lower end being inserted between the rocks at the bottom of the pit, while the upper end protruded above the earth covering. This stick was pulled out, and water poured down the hole to the hot rocks. The hole was then plugged, and the roots allowed to steam until cooked.

Black moss (*Alectoria*), camas, onions, and some other kinds of roots were cooked in the same kind of pit, but without steaming. Hot stones were put in the bottom of the pit, then a layer of grass, the roots, grass again, a layer of bark, and over all, earth. A fire was built on top, and kept going sometimes for two days. Some roots—such as *Claytonia*, *la'q'ama***, and *Fritillaria*—were simply boiled. Camas and *pi'wia* roots (p. 89, No. 3) were sometimes simply boiled; but as a rule both kinds, after cooking, were crushed and made into cakes, which were dried. *Pi'wia* was kneaded into flat cakes about an inch thick and of two sizes—a large size, from 1 to 2 feet in length; and a small one, of about the size of the hand. Camas was mashed and kneaded into cakes of various sizes, most of them large. *Alectoria*, and sometimes also camas, was cooked in pits until it became a paste, which, when cooled, was cut into bricks or cakes of various sizes. As among the Thompson, bone knives were used for cutting these cakes. Long ago *Alectoria* was generally cooked by itself; but in later times it became the custom almost invariably to cook and cake it with wild onions. As stated already, *pi'wia* roots were first cleaned in bags, being beaten with sticks or struck against a flat rock (p. 49). Large cakes of camas, etc., were dried on frames made of slats or split pieces of wood, similar to those used by the Thompson for drying cakes of berries on.[179] The slats were woven together with bark, or occasionally with thongs, or other kinds of string. Hazelnuts and nutlets of the yellow pine were usually eaten raw. Nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis* were cooked in hot ashes. Soups or thick gruels were made by boiling root cakes or dried roots, either of a single kind or of two or more kinds together. Service berries were generally spread on mats (often tent mats were used for the purpose) and dried in the sun. When cured, they were stored in bags. Often the fresh berries were mashed in baskets with wooden pestles like those of the Thompson,[180] and made into cakes, which were dried on layers of grass spread on frames elevated on scaffolds of poles. Fresh berries of *Crataegus* were boiled in baskets and spread on thick layers of grass. A thin layer of berries was spread first, and then juice poured over it. When partially dry, the process was continued until the desired thickness of cake was obtained or the contents of the basket used up. Sometimes *Crataegus* and chokecherries were mashed with pestles in mortars or on large flat stones, made into cakes, and dried, in the same manner as service berries. Often stone pestles and stone mauls were used instead of wooden ones, because of the large hard stones in these berries. It seems a number of forms were used.[181] Hand hammers were also used. Berry cakes and berries were also spread on small mats woven of the large leaves of a plant called *k'wa'sk'was*, which grows near lakes. Chokecherries, huckleberries, bearberries, and sometimes raspberries and currants, were simply dried without other treatment. Service berries and huckleberries were sometimes boiled, and then eaten; or, like fresh raspberries, strawberries, blackberries, chokecherries, they were sometimes mashed and eaten without boiling. All kinds of berries were also eaten fresh as gathered. At the present day sugar is added to some of them, especially to fresh mashed berries. Thick soups were made of dried berries and roots boiled together.

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[145] See Kamloops, *b*, p. 411, fig. 339.
[146] See Shuswap, *c*, fig. 235 c; Thompson, p. 233, fig. 214; Chilcotin, *c*, fig. 275.
[147] *a*, pp. 235–237.
[148] *a*, pp. 226, 237; *b*, pp. 201, 202.

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[179] c, fig. 215.

[180] Lillooet, k, fig. 64a.

[181] Compare Blackfoot, c, fig. 1.

Preservation of Animal Foods, Cooking.—Meat and fish, when fresh, were roasted on spits or sticks in front of the fire. If the meat was fat, bark dishes were placed underneath to catch the drippings. Fresh meat and fish were also often boiled, and the brew drunk. After the meat had been removed, roots might be put in the brew and boiled, making a soup. Dried meat and fish were generally boiled, but sometimes were roasted before the fire, or eaten raw. Meat intended for winter use or to be carried a long way was invariably dried either by the fire or in the sun, or both, assisted by wind and smoke. If to be dried quickly, it was cut into thin slices which were spread on a low framework somewhat similar to that of a large sweat house. A fire was built underneath, and the meat turned as required. If there was no particular hurry, strips of meat were spread on a large scaffold of poles about 2 meters above the ground like those used by the Thompson and other tribes,[143] and there allowed to dry in the sun and wind. If rain threatened, the meat was covered over with mats. At most times, and particularly in cloudy weather, fires were built underneath. If flies were troublesome, the fires were made smoky. Dried meat was frequently made into pemmican by being pounded with pestles, mauls, and stone hammers in mortars, on flat stones, and on rawhides—usually on a flat stone with a maul. A large mat or skin was spread on the ground, and the flat stone placed in the middle. The jerked meat was stored in sacks, and was generally eaten without further preparation. Sometimes it was made into proper pemmican by mixing it with hot grease (fat or marrow) and kneading it into balls or cakes. Bones were crushed on flat stones with hand hammers and mauls in order to extract the marrow. Sacks containing pemmican were often sealed if intended to be kept for a long time. Tree gum was sometimes used for this purpose. No berries were used in pemmican, as they were thought to make the meat too sweet. Nearly all the bags used for storing and carrying meat and fat were made of rawhide. Ordinary dried meat was sometimes wrapped in mats. Fat and marrow were often stored in bark vessels. Long ago meat was occasionally cooked in pits or ovens like those used for cooking roots. Hunting parties of men having no baskets or kettles roasted meat almost entirely on spits. Occasionally they boiled meat in kettles made of paunches or of skins which they did not intend to save. Blood soup was often made, especially by hunters. The principal meats cured were those of deer, elk, and buffalo. Horse flesh was not much used and dog flesh was never eaten.

Fish were split, cleaned, and hung on poles to dry in the sun and wind. If the weather were cloudy or rainy, the drying process was hastened by fire and smoke. Cooked salmon flesh was sometimes pounded up, salmon oil was added, and the whole thoroughly kneaded. This kind of pemmican was stored in salmon-skin bags, which were sealed with gum or glue. Salmon oil was put up in small salmon-skin bags or bottles, which were sealed in the same way.

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[143] See Blackfoot, c, fig. 2.

SEASONS.—The Coeur d'Alêne recognise five seasons—spring (*se'tqaps*), summer (*yalstk*), early fall or autumn (*stsaq*), late fall (*stc'e'ᴇd*), winter (*sitstik*ʷ).

Months and seasonal employments.—The moons are called by names up to 10, the rest of the year being called by the seasonal name of "fall." The moons are also called by numbers, the first month beginning, it seems, in the late fall (October or November). Probably all the members of the tribe did not agree on what constituted the beginning of the year or the first month. I obtained the following ancient names of months, with their characteristics; and the principal occupations of the people in each.

1. *stc'e'ᴇd* ("real late fall month"). Begins in October or November, according to the moon; approximately November month. Warm weather is finished. People go hunting and also fix their houses or camps for the winter.

2. *sme'qun* ("snow month"). Most snow falls in this month. Most people are away on lengthy hunting and trapping trips.

3. *sqwa'sus*, may mean "scorched" or "contracted," because the cold seems to scorch people. It is always cold this month. Most people remain at home in their lodges.

4. *t'ėqwe'panᴇx* (February and March—meaning uncertain). There is generally a good deal of cold this month also, and most people remain at home.

5. *stcᴇna''rᴇmᴇn*, named from a yellow flower (probably *Ranunculus* sp.) which blooms at this time of year. Some people trap fish for the first time.

6. *se'tqaps* ("spring month"). Many warm winde blow in this month, and all the people begin to gather food.

7. *sloq'wa'iyol* ("bark loose [on trees]") or *skwazkwazhelkwa* (?) (name of a flower which grows in the water at this season). About May. Some kinds of roots are dug.

8. *yaltsk* ("summer month"). People dig camas.

9. *ᴇxla'mp* (meaning uncertain). Berries ripen. People are chiefly engaged in berrying and fishing.

10. *stsa''aq*ʷ ("early fall month"). It really means "red" or "aglow," and is so named because vegetation dries up and changes color, putting on red and other bright hues. People fish for salmon. The last of the camas and berry crops are gathered in. Toward the end of the month salmon turn red and are poor. Horses are very fat, and the buffalo hunters start for the plains.

The rest of the year is called by the seasonal name of "late fall." Most people were away traveling and hunting on lengthy trips, getting meat and skins.

GAME AND HUNTING.—The animals hunted for meat and skins were chiefly deer, elk, and buffalo. Of less importance were moose, goat, sheep, antelope, bear, beaver. Marmot, ground squirrel, otter, muskrat, coyote, wolf, fox, and other small game were hunted and snared chiefly for their pelts. Birds (such as grouse, ducks, geese) were sought for food; and eagles, hawks, and woodpeckers for their feathers. In olden times elk were very abundant. Moose always inhabited the Coeur d'Alêne country, but were nowhere very plentiful. Goats were fairly numerous. Sheep did not occur, but parties hunting beyond the tribal boundaries in the country of the Flathead and on the confines of the Nez Percé got a few. They were also obtained in the Rocky Mountains and in some parts of the buffalo country farther east. Caribou were sometimes seen and killed by parties who occasionally hunted beyond their tribal boundaries to the north. There were none of these animals in the Coeur d'Alêne territory. Antelopes were very abundant until about 1820 in the Spokan country, especially on Spokane Prairie; but they inhabited only a small fringe of the Coeur d'Alêne country on the west, especially around Hangmans Creek, which was their eastern limit. The last of them were killed off in this section about 1820; but they continued plentiful farther west, in the countries of the Spokan and Columbia, until much later. At one time buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country west of the Rockies, right up to the eastern flanks of the Bitterroot Range, and many buffalo skulls could be seen there. Only two buffaloes were ever known to be in the Coeur d'Alêne country. These were killed by Indians on a hill near Tekoa (eastern Washington) about 1815. Buffalo were sometimes hunted before the introduction of the horse by small parties related by blood or marriage to the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, or led by men related to these tribes. They hunted in the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead country with their friends, and were generally absent about nine months.

According to tradition, deer did not inhabit the Coeur d'Alêne country at one time long ago, and many people did not know much about them. The first deer seen was swimming a lake. A man chased it in a canoe, and shot it with an arrow as it landed. Many people came to see and examine the strange animal, and they wondered at its small fine nose and its slender, neat legs. They thought the animal was very pretty, but did not know what it was. They sent for the oldest person in the tribe. This was a very aged woman, who was completely blind and able to walk only by the aid of canes. They asked her the name of the animal. She felt it over with her hands.

After feeling its nose and legs, she said, "This is *ts'xo'lxx*,[4] and is very good to eat." This name was therefore applied to deer at first. After a time deer became very plentiful and the common name *ts'i't* was applied to them.

Bear, beaver, and many other animals have always been fairly abundant. At a time, before 1800, when the Coeur d'Alêne were well supplied with horses, and the Blackfeet were often attacking the Flathead, the latter extended invitations to the Coeur d'Alêne and other western tribes, and welcomed them to hunt buffalo in their territory. Then well-equipped and well-mounted parties of Coeur d'Alêne went hunting on the plains, where they joined forces with the Flathead and western tribes. Greater numbers went annually, until at last nearly the entire tribe took part in these excursions. Women and children went along with their husbands and other relatives. Only the oldest people and a few others remained at home. The parties left in August, after the harvesting of the principal root and berry crops, and after the salmon had been put up. Most of them went by a short trail over the Bitterroots, by Old Mission, returning in April by Kalispel River where the snow goes off early in the spring, and grass for horses is abundant. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that they began going to the plains buffalo hunting some time before the Nez Percé and that long ago the Nez Percé hardly ever went east of even the Bitterroot Range, although buffalo were close to the range on the east side. Flathead and Shoshoni bands hunted in the country east of the Nez Percé.

WEAPONS OF THE CHASE—*Bows.*—Nearly all bows were sinew backed, and only a few simple bows were used. Most bows were made of a wood called *atse'tcxnalxw'* ("bowwood"). This has not been identified, but is said to be a reddish wood, similar to juniper, which grows along creeks in the mountains. It is not cedar. The Thompson Indians call yew (*Taxus*) "bowwood." Juniper was rarely used. A good many bows were made of mountain ram's-horn in a single piece.[133] Only the largest horns were used for making bows. They were split lengthwise and a central piece taken out the full length. The horn was made pliable by boiling it or heating it over the fire. Usually the outside of the horn formed the inside of the bow. Most of the sinew used on bows was from the legs of deer. The sinews were cut off as long as possible and dried. When to be used they were thoroughly crushed with stone hammers and mauls until they were quite pliable and torn into shreds. They were then glued the entire length of the back of the bow with a glue made from salmon skins. After the first layer of sinew was glued on, the bow was wound with *pa'tcten* bark (probably bird-cherry [*Prunus emarginata*]; compare Thompson *pakla'n*) and hung up to dry and set. In a few hours it was taken down and another layer glued on. It was thus treated until the sinew backing was considered sufficient—from about 5 to 10 millimeters in thickness. From 20 to 30 leg sinews of deer were required for the best bows. Each layer of sinew as put on was cut partly through with a knife. The cuts were made about 5 centimeters apart and at right angles to the length of the bow stave. Care was taken not to make the cuts in one layer at the same place as those made in the preceding layers. When dry, the bow was painted all over, most frequently with red ochre. If more than one color was used the colors were arranged in masses. Very few designs, either geometric or realistic, were applied. The middle of the bow, or hand grip, was generally wrapped with *pa'tclen* bark,[154] otter skin, or other hide. Occasionally the hand grip and some other parts of bows were ornamented with quillwork. No snake skin was used as coverings for bows, as among many tribes, as there were no large snakes in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Many sinew-backed bows were wrapped all over with strips of *pa'tclen* bark [155] to prevent their getting wet, as much rain or wet relaxed or loosened the sinew backing.

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[4] A Kalispel term. *'Ätse'tcxn* the heartwood of fir.—G. R.

[133] See Nez Percé, *b*, pp. 211, 212.

Bowstrings were twisted from the shredded sinews of deer's legs (back sinews of animals were used almost exclusively for making sewing-thread [156]). Great care was taken in stretching the bowstring; for, if this were not done properly, the string was of little value. The common method of stretching was by tying it between two trees or stakes and attaching to it weights of stone. Bowstrings were not glued, waterproofed, or painted.

To make some of the best bows took nearly two weeks. This included the work on the wood or horn, the work on the bowstring, and a little ornamentation.

Boys' bows were simply of wood, or rarely of a slip of ram's-horn. They were not so powerful as those of the men. Only a few of the wooden ones had a little sinew backing. The horn ones generally had no backing. Men's horn bows always had sinew backing, like the wooden ones, but not as much. Most boys' bows were neatly wrapped with strips of *pa'tclen* bark arranged very closely,[157] and glued with tamarack (*Larix occidentalis*) gum. Coeur d'Alêne wooden bows were all of the flat, wide kind,[157] the width averaging that of a man's hand spread flat (without the thumb), or about 10 centimeters. They were about a meter long, or a little more. Horn bows were narrower and shorter, averaging less than one meter. A few bows, especially those used by boys, were about 70 centimeters long. No bow points were used. Bows were held nearly horizontal when in action, and the release seems to have been primary.

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[154] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 216; Shuswap, *a*, fig. 236.

[155] Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.

[156] See p. 19.

[157] Thompson, *a*, figs. 217, 219.

A very few men used double-curved bows procured from the Spokan, but they were not preferred. Wrist guards were seldom used, except with the double-curved bow. In shooting the flat bow they were not required. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel used the double-curved bow entirely. By far the greater number of the Spokan also used this type of bow. A few Spokan, perhaps 1 in every 10, used a different kind of bow, which was also employed to some extent by tribes west and north of them. This bow was of ordinary length, thick and rounded in the middle, and small, narrow, and rather flat at the ends. All the Flathead tribes covered the backs of their bows with sinew and snake skin.

Two shapes of bows were used by the Nez Percé long ago—one kind was flat like that of the Coeur d'Alêne, but only about half the width (2 finger widths); the other was thick in the middle and small and thin at the ends, like that used by some Spokan. All the best bows of the Nez Percé were also sinew-backed and covered with snake skin. After they had begun going to the plains many of the Nez Percé adopted the double-curve bow. The tribes on the plains immediately east of the Flathead used double-curved bows altogether.

Arrows.—Arrows were rather long and slender, of about the same length as the longest of those used by the Thompson, which were nearly 1 meter long. Service wood (*Amelanchier*) was the principal wood employed in making them. Wood of a white-flowered tree like dogwood (probably a species of dogwood) was used occasionally. Another wood used more frequently than the latter was *mitsemitsē'elp* (*Spiraea* sp.? Compare Thompson *mxtmxtstrelp*, *Spiraea discolor* Punk.), the largest sticks of which were split. Rosewood was not used, and it is doubtful if Syringa was used, either. Arrow shafts were straightened by the hand or the teeth, after being slightly heated. They were also straightened and smoothed with arrow smoothers of stone.[188] Men's arrows were usually feathered with three tail feathers of a hawk, put on flat. Boys generally used tail feathers of grouse, three or two, attached either flat or twisted. Sometimes they used a single feather twisted around spirally. All feathers were attached with fine sinew. Long ago many arrow shafts were ornamented with notches and incised designs. Rows of short or long notches were made, also incised lines parallel to the shaft, incised spirals or zigzags. It seems that these lines and notches were partly for ornament, and partly for facilitating the bleeding of wounded game. Many different styles of painting arrows were in vogue, and many colors of paint were used. The two most common styles were a red band about 5 cm. wide around the nock, and a similar band immediately below the feathering; and the feathered part of the shaft painted red.

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[188] See p. 42; Lytton, *e*, figs. 57, 58; Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 7, Nos. 32, 34.

Arrowheads varied a good deal in size, but most of them were quite small. Almost all the shapes figured by Spinden for the Nez Percé[159] were in use. Heads were placed on the shaft parallel with or at right angles to the nock, according as they were intended for use against game or people. Arrows with detachable foreshafts[160] were used, especially in war. Small game was hunted with headless arrows with sharp points. Birds, especially the smaller kinds, were shot with a three-pointed arrow, like those used by the Thompson.[161] A blunt-headed arrow, something like those of the Shuswap and Chilcotin,[162] was used only in some boys' games. For shooting fish a plain arrow with sharp point was used. Some of these were shorter than ordinary arrows and unfeathered. No crosspieces were used on the ends, as among the Thompson,[163] for shooting at the heads of fish. No arrows with harpoon or detachable points[164] were ever employed, as far as remembered. Wooden arrows, with the points of the shafts barbed or notched, were in use, as among the Thompson.[165] A special arrow was much used for hunting ducks and waterfowl on lakes. It was made of cedar wood and tipped with a splinter from an elk's leg, about 12 cm. long, securely set in the shaft with pitch. It was winged with goose-tail feathers attached with wrappings of *pa'tclen* bark. When shot, it bobbed up, floating in the water perpendicularly, and was easily seen and recovered. Most of the stone for arrowheads was obtained near *tcatkolet* and certain other places in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Some, however, was obtained from mountains to the southwest, near the confines of the Nez Percé. In later days iron was often used for making arrowheads. Some of these were notched at the sides. Very few bone points were used.

I did not learn whether any beaver spears were used long ago.

Quivers.—Quivers were made of entire skins of otter, fisher, cougar, coyote, wolf, deer, and occasionally other animals. The first three were most used. No quivers woven of bark were in use,[166] and none of leather and rawhide. No caps or covers were used on quivers.[167] No double or divided quivers, like those of some eastern tribes, were used long ago. In later days some of these were found, but they may have been procured in trade from the Crow, who made very fine quivers of cougar and otter skin with two compartments, one for the bow and the other for arrows. Many Coeur d'Alêne quivers had a pocket or narrow compartment for holding the fire drill, as among the Thompson.

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[159] *b*, Pl. 7, Nos. 3–22.

[160] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *b*; Field Mus. 111735.

[161] Field Mus. 111731; Peabody Mus. 441.

[162] Chilcotin, *a*, fig. 276 *d*.

[163] Field Mus. 111732; Peabody Mus. 440.

[164] Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *g*; Chilcotin, *a*, fig. 276 *a*; Field Mus. 111730; Peabody Mus. 442.

[165] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 222 *f*; Chilcotin, *a*, fig. 276 *c*; Field Mus. 111729.

[166] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 224.

[167] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 225.

Guns.—The Coeur d'Alêne were one of the last tribes to obtain firearms. They were practically without guns until after the traders came to their country, and were not well supplied until about 1830. Even as late as 1850 to 1860 most of them, or at least many of them, had only bows and arrows. They claim that all the surrounding tribes were using guns before they did. The first guns came from the north and east; the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Colville, and Okanagon obtained their first guns at about the same time. Perhaps the Flathead had guns before any of the other Salishan tribes; but the Blackfoot and other tribes north and east had guns before the Flathead. Of all the tribes known to the Coeur d'Alêne, the Chippewa had the first guns, and this at a date long before the Blackfoot or any western tribes. After the introduction of guns, shot pouches, cap holders, and powderhorns came into vogue. The last named were always made of buffalo horn. No wooden ones were made or used.

METHODS OF HUNTING AND TRAPPING.—Deer were run to bay or to water with dogs in the same manner as among the Thompson. As deer, when closely pursued, run to regular crossing places of lakes and rivers, men waited on shore at these places in ambush or on the water in canoes. Crossing places were also watched by men in canoes in the seasons of rutting and migrating, even when the deer were not driven. When a deer took to the water, it was chased and shot with arrows, or overtaken and speared. Some men preferred to use a moderately long stick with a crooked end, or with a hook at the end, by which they caught the bucks by the antlers and other deer by the neck, and pulled their heads under water. When people who were fishing and unprovided with weapons unexpectedly sighted a deer swimming, they gave chase, and clubbed it on the head, or caught it by the antlers and thrust its head under water until it was drowned. Elk, moose, and bear when caught swimming were despatched in the same way as deer.

Moonlight hunting was engaged in during warm weather in the same way as among the Thompson. Men sat behind small screens of brush near salt licks, and behind screens or in trees near springs and watering places, where thirsty animals came at night to drink and eat water grass. The methods of still hunting, hunting in company, and driving, in vogue among the Thompson,[100] were in common use.

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[100] a, p. 246.

tree or log or to a stick erected for the purpose, and the noose spread in the opening with strings of light, fragile bark fastened above and at the sides to poles or trees. The deer put its head through the noose, and in moving farther away snapped the supports, drew the noose tight around its neck, and choked. Snares of this description were also used for capturing elk and bear. They were often set on animals' trails. Nets, pitfalls, and corrals of brush or poles for catching deer and other game were not used. Deadfalls were used for catching bear and several other kinds of animals. Spring-pole snares were used for catching rabbits. Prairie chicken, grouse, and rabbits were caught with ordinary noose snares of twine set on their trails or among bushes. Sometimes a small brush house was made, and the snare set at the opening; or short wings of brush were erected leading to bird snares. The red-headed duck and some other kinds of duck were caught with lines and hooks baited with small fish. Large eagles were caught by men concealed in a pit screened with brush. When the eagle started to eat the bait the man seized it by the feet.[illegible] Young eagles were

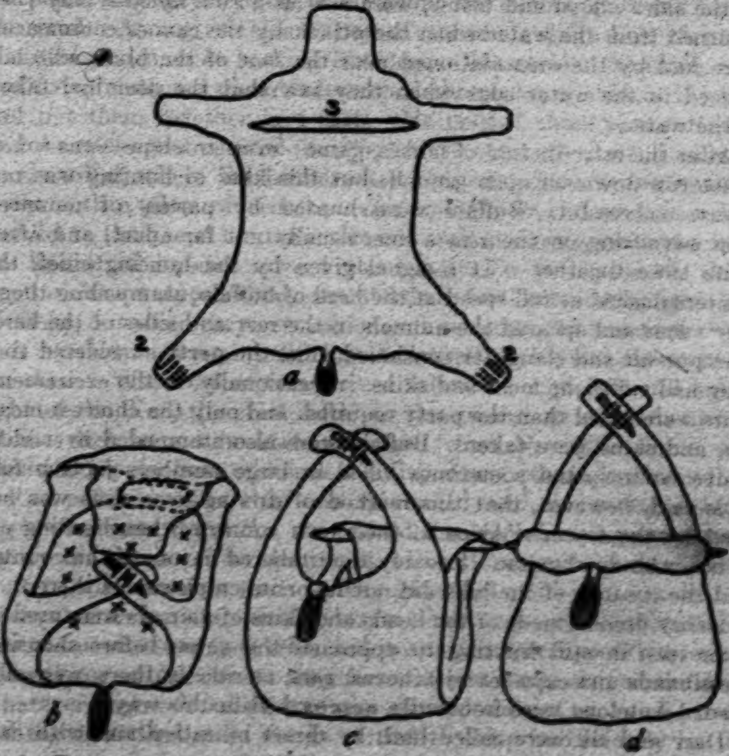

FIGURE 11.—Sketches illustrating the use of a hide for a bag in which meat is carried

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[illegible] Shuswap, a, p. 522; Nez Percé, b, p. 215.

taken from their nests and reared for their feathers. Very little is remembered now of the old methods of trapping before the introduction of white man's traps and the taking up of buffalo hunting. Since the days when the tribe began to go regularly to the plains very little trapping has been done. Few capable men remained at home during winter, the trapping season, most of them being absent on the buffalo hunt. Trapping and snaring of game thus fell into disuse, and has been little prosecuted since 1800.

FISHING—*Hooks.*—Fish were hooked, gaffed, speared, trapped, and netted. The methods of fishing with hooks and lines appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.[172] Lines were made of Indian hemp. Rods were of wood of any suitable bushes at hand. Fishline reels were made of a single piece of wood, generally oblong or square in shape. Lines were also merely hanked and put into the fish bag. Fish bags were woven of rushes or other materials.[173] Some were of rawhide and others were receptacles or baskets of bark. The most common hook was angular in shape, consisting of a wooden or bone shank and a barb of bone.[174] This was the only kind used on lines set in lakes, and was also the kind used for catching ducks. The other kind was the "gorge" hook, consisting of two straight splinters of bone fastened together.[175] Stone sinkers were used on nets and lines set in lakes. Many sinkers were simply attached with a double hitch,[176] while others were notched, grooved, or bored.[177] Floats, it seems, were made of tule. Those for lines were very small. Gaff hooks, with long wooden handles, were used for feeling salmon in the pools and hooking them out in the dark. It is uncertain whether they were used before the advent of iron, as the hooks are remembered as always having been of this material. Some tribes may have used gaff hooks with heads set with barbs of bone or antler like the angular fishhook used on lines.

Spears.—Two kinds of fish spears were in use. One was of the harpoon kind, with single detachable point,[178] used for spearing salmon in shallow riffles and from the banks of rivers; and the other was three-pronged with solid head.[179] The latter were of various sizes for spearing fish of different kinds from canoes or from the edge of ice. Spear points were made from leg bones of elk or deer. Harpoon spears with double prongs, like many used by the Thompson,[180] appear to have been unknown. Fishing through holes cut in the ice was a common method used in winter. The fisher lay flat on a woven mat, with a robe or blanket over his head; he held the line with a fish lure in his left hand, and a three-pronged spear in his right, ready to strike. Fishing with bait and hook and line was also practiced through holes in the ice when the weather was not too cold. Large trout were speared on dark nights in the lakes from canoes by torchlight. As among the Thompson, the torches consisted of bundles of split pitchwood, and three-pronged spears were used. Eye shades of several kinds were worn by the spearmen. (See p. 76.)

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[172] a, p. 253.

[173] See Thompson, Peabody Mus. 156-158.

[174] See Thompson, a, fig. 234 b.

[175] See Thompson, a, fig. 234 a; Nez Percé, b, fig. 5, no. 9.

[176] See Thompson, a, fig. 234 a.

[177] See Thompson, Ottawa Mus. VI, M, 409.

[178] See Nez Percé, b, fig. 5, No. 10; compare Lillooet, k, fig. 87.

[179] See Thompson, a, fig. 232; Nez Percé, b, fig. 5, No. 11.

[180] a, fig. 231.

Traps.—Fish traps were of several kinds, but I did not obtain detailed information regarding them. The screen trap described by Spinden was in use.[181] (Fig. 12.) A second kind of trap commonly employed was used chiefly in creeks when they were in flood. It appears to have been the same as the cylindrical trap of the Thompson with "heart," and was called *moo*, which is also the Thompson name. A third kind of trap, with a trapdoor composed of a row of slanting sticks, appears to have been the same as a common kind among the Thompson, Shuswap, and Nez Percé.[182] A fourth kind, said to have been circular (possibly cylindrical), was used only for small fish. A fifth kind was used, it seems, only for salmon in large streams. It was large, and had high walls. The top was open excepting at the ends, which were covered over to prevent fish from jumping out. These traps were made of coarser materials than others; they were

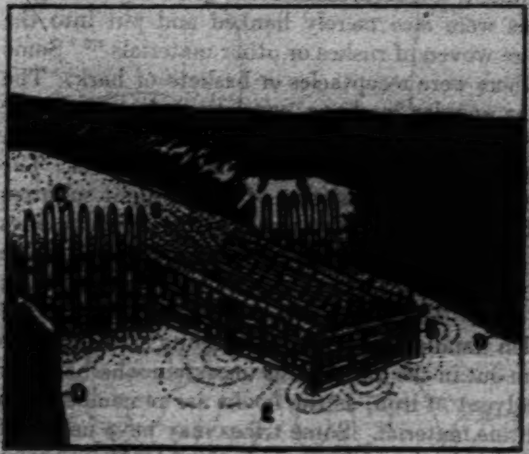

FIGURE 12.—Fish trap

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[181] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 211. I have seen screen traps used by the Shuswap and Chilcotin in small, rather rapid streams and have often seen fish lying on the screens. The screens were somewhat larger than the ones used by the Nez Percé. They were made of willow rods fastened together with bark and withes. They were oblong, slightly depressed in the center, and tilted up at the lower end away from the stream. I am under the impression that some of them had low brush walls to prevent the fish falling off the sides. Some had corrals underneath to catch any small fish that worked through the screens. The whole creek was dammed and the water forced over the screens with great force.

[182] See Shuswap, *c*, fig. 245 *a*, *b*; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 211.

set in rocky places and fastened to stout logs, as a considerable volume of water flowed through them. Men walked into them and clubbed the salmon. It seems they were used only on Spokane River. Weirs were commonly employed in conjunction with traps, and there were also simple weirs for stopping fish, thus facilitating spearing.

Nets.—Long nets were set in lakes, and ordinary bag nets were used for catching whitefish (*Coregonus*) and other fish from rocks and platforms on the banks of streams. Very large bag nets with long handles were used for catching a "sucker" which appears on the surface of lakes in calm, warm weather. The nets were dropped through the masses of fish from canoes. They were also scooped up with small bag nets into the canoes.[183] Bag nets were also set as traps, as among the Shuswap,[184] and the fish were driven into them. Bag nets were not used by the Coeur d'Alêne for fishing salmon, nor were they used in salmon fishing by the Spokan; but it is said that the Nez Percé used bag nets a great deal in capturing salmon in the rivers. It seems that all salmon were trapped, speared, or gaffed by the Coeur d'Alêne and also by most of the Spokan. It is said that the latter, in a few places on tributaries of the Spokane River, used large-mesh nets spread across the stream. These may, however, have been intended in large measure as weirs for stopping the fish rather than for catching them. The Coeur d'Alêne had no salmon in their own country, but salmon came close to the borders of their territory along Spokane River. Some Coeur d'Alêne bought what dried salmon they required from the Spokan; but large numbers of the tribe went to Spokane Falls and other parts of Spokane River where they fished salmon for themselves with the Spokan tribe. As the two tribes were usually friendly, this opportunity was generally available. It is said that no salmon could pass the falls, and therefore there were no salmon in the Coeur d'Alêne country. A long time ago (before the introduction of the horse, according to some also later) some of the Coeur d'Alêne were in the habit of trapping salmon in the mountains to the southeast, on streams which were northern feeders of the Clearwater. This was near the confines of the Nez Percé country. Long ago they also fished salmon at several points on the main Clearwater.[185] Although the Nez Percé claimed these places to be within their territory, they never themselves went there to fish. Long ago, some Coeur d'Alêne also fished salmon on the Graywater, and beyond Smeda, up to the mountains as far as the salmon went. No landlocked salmon frequented any water in the Coeur d'Alêne country; but trout of several kinds, whitefish, and several other kinds of fish were abundant. It seems that sturgeon also occurred.

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[183] See Shuswap, e, p. 526.

[184] c, fig. 242.

[185] My informant said "the main Snake River," but seemed to mean Clearwater River.

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

Canoes.—All the canoes were of the sharp-snouted "sturgeon nose" type like those used by the Thompson, Shuswap, Lake, Kutenai, and some other tribes. All were made of cedar bark. No "dugouts" were used. In size, canoes varied from small ones, intended for the use of a single person, to large ones, capable of accommodating seven people and some cargo. The bark of trees intended for canoes was stripped when the sap was running, in May, June, and July, and almost all canoes were made during these months. Holes were made in the trees, and wedges driven in, on which a man climbed to a height sufficient for the length of bark required for the canoe. A cut encircling the tree was made at this place and another at the bottom. A long, vertical cut was then made down one side of the tree, connecting the two cuts, and the bark taken off in a single piece. For prying off the bark, peelers of antler and wood were used, as among other tribes.[186] Split cedar root was used chiefly for sewing canoes. Paddles were made altogether of fir wood. Cedar was considered too light, and tamarack and pine too heavy. They were nearly all of one shape, with blades pointed at the ends, widest near the handle end.[187] In some places, where canoes could not be made, tule rafts were used, and in other places where both bark and tules were scarce, pole rafts were employed. Tule rafts were pointed at both ends. They were made of lodge mats rolled in bundles; or tules were tied in long bundles which were tightly lashed together. A well-made raft resembled a canoe, and was almost as good as one. Canoe bailers were made of bark, and were like small baskets.

Tump Lines.—Before the introduction of the horse, everything not transported by canoe was carried on people's backs with tump lines. Dogs were not used for carrying loads. Tump lines consisted of wide bands of hide that passed over head or chest, and lines of hide at the ends for attachment to the burden. The load was rolled in matting, put in mat bags, carrying bags woven of Indian-hemp twine, or hide bags. Baskets were also much used, especially in transportation of loose materials, and were employed mostly by the women.

Snowshoes.—When snow was deep on the mountains, people used snowshoes for traveling and hunting. They were of types similar to those of the Thompson. Three shapes of frames were in use, and two or three forms of mesh, differing more in arrangement of the strings than in the weaving.

A common kind was exactly like the common kind used by the Thompson.[188] Another shorter, rounder kind was less common. It had three head strings on each side, and was of the same weave as the first one. It was even rounder than a similar style used by the Thompson.[189] A third kind, similar to a Thompson style,[189] had four head strings on each side, and cross strings in groups of threes, or, more generally, fours. A few were made in groups of twos. Like the first, this was a common type. The manner of attaching the lacing or foot strings of snowshoes seems to have been similar to the common Thompson method.[190] Fillings of snowshoes consisted of babiche or rawhide strings made chiefly from bear hide. Occasionally buffalo, elk, and deer hide were used. No cross sticks were employed on real snowshoes, and no frames with sharp or pointed "tails" or "heels." Most frames of snowshoes were made of an unidentified wood called *sqwuxt* (?), which grows in the mountains. A few were made of maple-wood vine (?). When parties were caught in heavy snow without snowshoes, and there was no ready means of making proper ones, temporary snowshoes were made of brush or saplings tied together at the ends, and kept stretched in the middle with cross sticks, which served also instead of filling. Most of these were nearly of the same shape as a kind of temporary snowshoe used by the Thompson.[191] The sizes of snowshoes were the same as among the Thompson.

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[186] See Shuswap, *c*, fig. 225, *a*, *b*.

[187] See Field Mus. No. 111954.

[188] *a*, fig. 229.

DOGS.—The ancient dogs of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been rather small. Face and ears resembled those of coyotes. Their colors were dark or bluish gray, spotted, or mixed. They were used only for hunting, and, it is said, never for purposes of transportation, such as carrying burdens or hauling loads. No dog sleds of any kind were known. Dogs were never clipped, and their hair was never used for any purpose. Their flesh was never eaten; and their skins were seldom used, if at all. It is said that no regular halter ropes with toggles, like those of the Thompson,[192] were in use. Leashes for hunting dogs were made of rope.

HORSES.—Horses were introduced a long time ago, but were not plentiful or much used at first. Some think the tribe had plenty of horses, at least about 1760. They were procured in the beginning chiefly, if not altogether, from the Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead. The very first horse came from the Kalispel, and the following story is related regarding it:

The first horse came to the Coeur d'Alêne country at a place about 3½ miles northwest of De Smet. A large number of people were gathered there, digging camas. They saw a man approaching on horseback, and became greatly excited. The rider was a Kalispel Indian, who remained several days with the Coeur d'Alêne. The people examined the horse closely, and wondered much at the strange animal. As the horse was gentle, many people tried to ride him; but when he trotted, they fell off, excepting one man. The Coeur d'Alêne obtained their very first horses from the Kalispel, and a little later obtained a few from the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and Spokan. A few of the Coeur d'Alêne crossed the Bitterroot Mountains in days before they had horses, visiting the Pend d'Oreilles and hunting buffalo which were at one time quite plentiful in the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles countries between the Rocky Mountains and the Bitterroot Range; but no Coeur d'Alêne went on the plains east of the mountains until after they had horses. When they first went to the plains they had plenty of horses; and the neighboring tribes, the Spokan, Colville, Columbia, and Nez Percé, were also well supplied. They found at this time that the Shoshoni and Flathead had great numbers; but the Blackfoot and some other eastern tribes did not seem to have many. As an abundance of horses made traveling and buffalo hunting much easier, the tribes to the east who were not well supplied made frequent raids upon the Shoshoni and Flathead, trying to steal their horses. At this time the Crow had more horses than the Blackfoot and Gros Ventres, but not nearly as many as the Shoshoni and Flathead. When not at war, the Coeur d'Alêne and western tribes in early times always sold horses to the Plains tribes, but no horses were procured by western tribes from eastern tribes. It seems certain that in early times the Crow, Blackfoot, and all the near-by eastern tribes secured all their horses in trade and in war from the Shoshoni and Flathead, who had horses long before they did. Horses were considered the greatest wealth a person could have. The Plains tribes were still using dogs for packing and hauling when the Coeur d'Alêne began to frequent the plains; but as they gradually became better supplied with horses, dogs were used less and less. In later days, when buffalo became scarce on the eastern plains, the tribes from that region, who were by this time all well mounted, moved farther west into the better buffalo grounds, encroaching on the Shoshoni and Flathead.

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[189] Thompson, a, fig. 242; Lillooet, k, fig. 91.

[190] a, fig. 241.

[191] a, fig. 243.

[192] a, fig. 227.

Horse Equipment.—Saddles and other equipment for horses must have come into use at the time of the introduction of the first horses. Certain articles of horse equipment are said to have been borrowed from the Pend d'Oreilles, and it seems likely that the rest came from the same source. Men's saddles were of two kinds. One kind, perhaps the most common one, consisted of a pad of deer's hair inclosed in leather. It was made to fit the back of the horse, and the four corners of the saddle were generally ornamented with areas of solid beadwork or quillwork in two or three colors.[illegible] The other kind of saddle was constructed somewhat like a packsaddle. The sides were of wood, and each pommel was made of a forked piece of deer's antler, which formed an arch slanting outward. The lower parts of the tines were fastened to the sidepieces with thongs, which passed through holes in the latter. Rawhide was shrunk over all.[illegible]

[illegible] *l*, fig. 2.

[illegible] *l*, figs. 4, 20.

Women's saddles had wooden sides and high straight pommels of antler or wood with wide, flat ends. Rawhide was shrunk over all, and they were often further covered with leather, which was cut into fringes around the ends of the pommels.[195] Sometimes, instead of cut fringes, a strip of dressed skin about 7 to 10 cm. wide, often covered with solid beadwork on the outside, depended from each pommel, reaching almost to the horse's back.[196] The ends of these bands were often fringed. Many women's saddles had a spike of wood or antler which projected forward and upward from the middle of the front pommel.[197] It was used, it seems, chiefly for suspending the baby carrier when traveling. Some saddles had short skirts of leather which were beaded or fringed along the edges. Stirrup leathers consisted of wide straps of heavy buckskins or elk skin, and stirrups were made of slats of wood bent into shape by heating when green. Generally buffalo or other skin was shrunk over them. (See *l*, fig. 12, p. 16.) Cruppers were used with many saddles. They consisted of wide pieces of skin fringed along the lower side, and beaded on the outside.[198] Collars or "horse necklaces" of similar material and design were also used a good deal, especially by women. As a rule, they were fringed and embroidered, and many had pendants that hung on the horse's chest. Saddle blankets consisted of pieces of woven matting below and pieces of buffalo or other skin in the hair on top. Some saddle blankets of leather, embroidered along the edges and having long corner ends, were also used.[199] Saddle covers of skin, used over the saddle for sitting on, were common. Sometimes light robes were used for this purpose.

Bridles consisted of ropes or braided or twisted horsehair or buffalo hair attached to the lower jaw. Many consisted merely of a strip of buffalo hide or other rawhide. Cinches were made of woven horsehair or of rawhide. Lariats, halter ropes, and stake ropes were made of horsehair, buffalo hair, or of leather braided or twisted; and others were merely long strips cut out of raw buffalo and other hide. Women used fringed hide bags[200] attached, usually one on each side, to the fronts and sometimes also to the backs of saddles. Saddlebags were fastened to the saddle behind. These crossed the back of the horse, and had a deep pocket on each side and very long fringes.[201] Things required during the day when traveling and odds and ends were carried in them. Quirts were like those in use among the Flathead, Thompson and other tribes. They had handles of antler or wood, and lashes of rawhide.[202] Although the horse and dog travois were both well known to the Coeur d'Alêne, who had seen them constantly during the many years they hunted on the plains, still they were never adopted. Carrying rather than hauling was the method of transportation preferred by the Coeur d'Alêne as well as by other western tribes, because best adapted for travel through rough, mountainous country.

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[195] *l*, fig. 17.

[196] *l*, fig. 2.

[197] *l*, figs. 2, 17.

[198] *l*, figs. 14, 15.

[199] *l*, fig. 18.

[200] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 131; Shuswap, *c*, fig. 220.

[201] *l*, fig. 19.

[202] *l*, figs. 23, 24.

Packsaddles were of wood, both sides and crosspieces. Antler was sometimes used for crosspieces; and poplar wood was principally used for the sides of both pack and riding saddles. Rawhide was shrunk over all.[208] Large rawhide bags and parflêches were hung by loops over the crossbars of the packsaddle, one on each side, and goods were transported in them. Robes and skins were often thrown flat on the top of these, and the whole load fastened down with rawhide ropes. Sometimes bulky materials, such as tents and skins, were folded and lashed together in bundles of equal weight, to be carried as side packs on horses.

Horses were often decorated with tassels and bunches of dyed or painted horsehair, and tail feathers of eagles, hawks, and other birds. Sometimes pendent feathers were attached, one above another, along the outside of horses' tails. A feather pendant or a long streamer of dyed horsehair was often suspended from the lower jaw. Some men made war bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were strapped on the horses' heads. Horses were painted in various ways, and their manes and tails were plaited or clipped in different styles. Some men and women rubbed scent or perfume on them.

TRADE.—More or less trading was done by all parties visiting or being visited by neighboring bands or tribes. As most things which the Coeur d'Alêne had were common to all the neighboring tribes, trading was generally merely an exchange of articles common to all, and depended on the needs and fancies of individuals. However, there were a few things which were abundant with some tribes and scarce or absent in the territories of others. Thus soapberries (*Shepherdia*) and hazelnuts, which did not grow in the country of the Coeur d'Alêne, were obtained from the Spokan, who, in turn, got them from the Colville Indians, in whose country they were plentiful. Bitterroot also did not grow in the Coeur d'Alêne country, and was procured from the Spokan, in whose country it grew abundantly. After the introduction of horses, many Coeur d'Alêne made trips to the district around Cheney and Sprague, in Spokan territory, to dig it. The Spokan never raised any objections, as they had an abundance, and, besides, they were always friendly with the Coeur d'Alêne. The Spokan also allowed them to come into their territory and put up supplies of salmon, as there were hardly any in the Coeur d'Alêne country. Some of the Coeur d'Alêne, however, preferred to buy dried salmon from the Spokan. A little dried salmon was also occasionally obtained from the Paloos.

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[208] Peabody Mus. No. 194.

Tobacco was imported, as none was native to the country, and it seems none was grown. It is not clear from which tribe they obtained it, but some think it was procured chiefly from the Spokan. After the arrival of the fur traders, tobacco was procured entirely from them. Dentalium, abalone, and some other shells used as beads were procured chiefly from the Spokan. A few were obtained from the Paloos, and possibly from the Nez Percé; but all these shells came originally from the tribes along Columbia River near The Dalles, who procured them from other tribes living on the coast or to the south. In later days fur traders sold dentalia and other shells. Fresh-water shells were used to some extent and were obtained at home. Flat, circular beads were bought chiefly from the Spokan, who procured them from the tribes along Columbia River. In later days these also were procured from the traders. They were in vogue a very long time ago. Polished tubular bone beads, for necklaces and breastplate ornaments, came into use in the beginning of the last century, and were procured, it seems, from the Flathead and the white traders. It is not known where copper and iron came from before the advent of the traders, but some think chiefly from The Dalles through the Spokan.

Long ago a very few slaves were bought from the Spokan and Paloos. They were nearly all young boys and girls, and, according to tradition, were chiefly Snake and Ute. Occasionally young slaves of Umatilla and Paloos extraction were also bought from the Spokan. Sooner or later these were bought back by their relatives. Sometimes the Paloos would come and buy them back directly, but oftener the Spokan who sold them would buy them back and sell them to their Paloos or Umatilla relatives who wanted them. The Snake and Ute slaves were never bought back, as their relatives lived too far away. The Coeur d'Alêne hardly ever bought and sold slaves among themselves; and very few of them cared to have any, even if they could afford to buy them.

Before the advent of the horse, a good many buffalo robes were bought from the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Some sheep's horns were also bought. Parties of Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé always did more or less trading when they met, but there was no trade in any special articles with the Nez Percé.

It seems that in olden times the Coeur d'Alêne did nearly all their trading with the Spokan, and comparatively little with other tribes. After they began to go to the plains a trade sprang up in special articles with several of the Plains tribes. All parties going to the plains to hunt buffalo carried small quantities of western products to trade, for the Plains tribes were very fond of some of these, and were willing to pay rather high prices. Thus salmon oil put up in sealed salmon skins, salmon pemmican mixed with oil and put up in salmon skins, cakes of camas and other roots, cakes of certain kinds of berries, Indian hemp, and Indian-hemp twine were transported across the mountains. Some people say that a great deal of Indian hemp and Indian-hemp twine was sold to the Plains tribes, fairly large quantities of camas cakes, salmon pemmican, etc., and only small quantities of berry cakes. The Plains Indians also desired arrows and bows of horn and wood, which they considered better than their own; also shells, certain kinds of beads, necklaces peculiar to the west, and greenstone pipes. They were also anxious to buy western horses; and most parties drove a considerable number of spare horses along, partly as remounts, but most of them for sale. Skins and clothes were also traded and interchanged. In exchange feather bonnets of the best kind and buffalo robes of the finest sort were obtained. The best bonnets and robes of the Plains tribes were considered better than those of their own. The feather bonnets most desired were of the Sioux style. Some of them were made by the Crow; but most of them, including all the best ones, were made by the Sioux themselves, and sold by them to the Crow. The buffalo robes desired were of the softest tan, and ornamented with a band of beadwork across the middle. The Crow robes were most highly valued. Often a horse and, in addition, a well-made leather shirt, was paid for one of the best kind of robes. Catlinite, and catlinite pipes, were also often bought from the Plains tribes. It is said that often when the Coeur d'Alêne or other western tribes met Plains tribes, the chiefs of the two sides held a talk and declared a state of peace and trading for a certain number of days. No one on either side was to quarrel, fight, or steal horses; but all were to be friends for the allotted number of days, and all were to play games and trade as they felt inclined. Then the people of both sides intermingled freely and without sign of restraint or suspicion. Often, toward the end of the time, dances of various kinds were held, large numbers taking part. The conduct of the people during these periods of truce was in great contrast to their attitude at other times, when each side was always ready to attack or repel an attack. Sometimes, after all had parted good friends, less than a day passed before one side made an attack on the other. The Blackfoot are said to have been the worst offenders. Often the very first night after the truce was over, and each party had gone its way, they would return and try to run off horses or kill stragglers around the camp. For this reason the western Indians, for several nights after parting company with their eastern friends, corraled their horses, mounted strong guards and were ready to repel any attempt at attack or horse stealing.

The articles traded for with the early fur traders were flint and steel, guns and ammunition, traps, iron, copper, knives, hatchets, glass beads, shells of certain kinds, red and blue cloth, and tobacco. Furs of beaver, otter, fox, marten, fisher, dressed buckskin, and other hides, and foods of certain kinds, were given by the Indians in exchange.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons.—Besides bows and arrows, already mentioned, for offensive purposes spears, lances, knives, daggers, and several kinds of clubs and tomahawks; for defense, shields and armor were used. War spears were usually about 2 meters long, with a point of flaked stone either leaf or knife shaped, rather long and narrow. All were sharp pointed and double edged. After iron came into use, some of them were serrated near the base on both sides. In later days, when buffalo were chased on horseback, a longer spear with a narrow point was sometimes used for stabbing game. Handles of spears were of various kinds of wood, particularly an unidentified wood called *sxleqa'lqʷ*. Lances for throwing were used both in war and in games. They were about 1½ meters in length and resembled large, heavy arrows. They were feathered like arrows and had stone and iron points. Those employed in games simply had the ends sharpened. They went out of use as a weapon soon after the introduction of the horse and the beginning of buffalo hunting on the plains. War knives had blades like spear points. They were all of flaked stone, somewhat leaf-shaped, set in short wooden or antler handles. After iron came into use, all war knives were made of that material, and were double edged, like those of the Thompson.[illegible] Some daggers were made of antler and bone. No double-ended daggers were used for fighting and for pushing in mouths of bears, as among the Okanagon and Thompson.

War clubs were of at least seven kinds. One kind consisted of a round stone set in the end of a short wooden handle, and heavy rawhide shrunk over all, which made the club rigid.[illegible] Usually the end of the handle was slightly grooved to fit the roundness of the stone, but occasionally instead the stone head had a shallow socket for the end of the handle to rest in. In rare cases it had two shallow grooves running at right angles for the attachment of thongs to bind it to the handle. In most clubs no thongs were used, the stiff rawhide being considered sufficient to hold the head firm.

A second kind of club was like the first, but with a pliable head. The stone was inclosed in a small bag of skin, the lower end of which was attached to the handle, leaving the middle part as a pliable neck.[illegible]

A third kind consisted of a spike of elk or deer antler set crosswise in the end of a short wooden handle. Some were double-ended with

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[illegible] *a*, fig. 246.

[illegible] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 247.

[illegible] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 248; Nez Percé, *b*, p. 227, and fig. 5, No. 5.

two spikes of equal length, while others had a shorter back spike of antler, sometimes of flaked stone.[207] Some of these clubs had single or double ended heads of flaked stone.[208] Rawhide was shrunk over the ends of these clubs. In later days iron was substituted for antler and stone; but after the arrival of the traders, trade tomahawks of iron largely took their place.

A fourth kind had a double-ended, somewhat oval stone head, set across the head of a short wooden handle. The stone generally had a shallow groove around the middle for the attachment of thongs to connect it tightly to the end of the handle. Hide was usually shrunk over the joining, or over the entire club excepting the tips of the head.[209]

A fifth type had a spike of antler or a blade of arrowstone sunk and glued into the upper end of the face of a wooden handle. Some clubs had a groove up and down the handle in the upper half of the side opposite the striking head. In this groove was set a row of small splinters of arrowstone, like teeth in a saw. In later days a long, narrow blade of iron was used instead of the stone teeth, and an iron spike for the striking head.[210]

A sixth form used was a one-piece club of elk antler, with a short tine, or piece of a tine, at one end sharpened to a point. It was probably like similar clubs used by the Thompson.[211]

A seventh form was made of one piece of wood. It was somewhat paddle-shaped, but much thicker, in proportion, than the blade of a paddle. It was often ornamented with incised designs, and some were polished. It appears to have been the same as a common wooden club among the Thompson.[212] Single-piece stone clubs, it would seem, were not made, but a few made by tribes along Columbia River were obtained in trade. As far as known, no clubs of whalebone were obtained in trade.

It is claimed that all these kinds of clubs were in use before the advent of the horse; and tradition says that all are very ancient, excepting perhaps the fourth kind, which, according to some, came into vogue about the time of the introduction of the horse. Some claim that the fifth kind is older than the fourth, but tradition is not quite clear as to whether it is equally as ancient as the other kinds described. Clubs were ornamented with skin fringes, feathers, hair tassels, and painted designs. Iron tomahawks became common after the arrival of the traders; also musket clubs and other clubs of supposedly white manufacture were obtained, as well as a few swords, machetes, and bayonets. When these trade weapons became common the use of most of the old-fashioned clubs was abandoned.

Points of arrows and spears were not poisoned in any way.

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[207] See Thompson specimen, Peabody Mus. 383.

[208] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 290.

[209] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 227.

[210] See Peabody Mus., No. 379.

[211] *a*, fig. 81.

[212] *a*, fig. 251.

Armor.—Long ago several kinds of armor were used. A sleeveless shirt or tunic of heavy elk hide, reaching below the hips, was in vogue. If possible, it was soaked in water before being used in battle. A short vest of wooden rods woven or fastened together with thongs or with Indian-hemp twine was in use. It reached from the shoulders to the hips, and had spaces for the arms.[213] The common wood used was *Spiraea* sp. (?). The outside was generally covered with dressed skin, which was ornamented with feathers and painted designs.[214] Some elk-skin tunics also had painted designs. Cuirasses made of slats of wood were not used.

Three or four kinds of shields were in use. One kind was oblong and about 1½ meters in length. It was made of a single piece of heavy elk hide.[215] It was sometimes moistened with water when about to be used. One side often carried painted designs. The second kind was circular or slightly oval, and about 60 centimeters in width. It consisted of from one to three thicknesses of heavy buffalo, elk, or other hide, stretched while moist over a hoop, and dried. The skins were sewed to the hoop. When two or three thicknesses of skin were used, the hoop was taken off when the skins were quite set, and the edges all around were sewed together. Some shields were circular and small, made of the thickest hide from the thigh of the buffalo, further thickened and hardened by scorching in fire. After the introduction of the horse this shield was the only one used; and it continued in use until after the introduction of firearms, when all kinds of shields became useless. According to tradition, small wooden shields were also used long ago, but nothing is now remembered of their shape and construction. None of the oldest living Indians have seen any of the old-style shields and armor, excepting the small hardened buffalo-hide shield. Although this type is said to have been in use before the advent of the horse, some think it is not as ancient as the others. All other kinds of shields and armor gradually went out of use after horses were employed, as they were not adapted for riding.

Forts and Defenses.—Long ago there were many forts. Most of them were stockades consisting of a row of posts, set deeply in the ground, as close together as possible. Sometimes they surrounded small groups of houses; but usually they were built near a camp as a place of refuge in case of attack, or as a safe retreat at night when most of the men happened to be away. The walls were about 3 meters high, and provided with loopholes at the proper height for shooting arrows. Shelters made of mats were erected all around the inside of the walls for the accommodation of the people. Some of the smaller stockades had the whole enclosed space roofed with mats. Pits and trenches were sometimes dug inside for the greater safety of noncombatants. The shape of all the stockades appears to have been circular, and all were provided with zigzag entrances just wide enough to admit one person at a time. These entrances were closed with wooden bars.

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[213] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 254.

[214] See Thompson specimen, Peabody Mus., No. 378.

[215] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 255.

Another kind of fort was made of logs laid horizontally one above another, somewhat after the manner of a log cabin. Logs were also laid across the roof, and the whole building covered, first with brush and then with earth. The walls were about 2 m. high and had loopholes between the logs. Pits were dug in some of them and some had underground passages leading to the edges of banks or concealed places among rocks or trees. The entrances to these buildings were low and narrow, admitting a person only on all fours. Most buildings had a small hole left uncovered in the middle of the roof to admit light, to serve for ventilation, and as a smoke hole when fires were lighted. In shape, these fortresses appear to have varied, many being oblong, others square. None of them were very large. This type of fort had the advantage that it could not be set afire by an enemy.

Temporary defenses consisted of breastworks and circular inclosures of logs laid one on another to a height of more than 1 meter, and covered with brush and earth. Sometimes a trench was dug along the inside of the wall. Other temporary defenses consisted of a fence of poles made like a corral, with brush and earth thrown against it. Still others were circular or semicircular inclosures made of stones piled up to a height of more than 1 meter. Loopholes were left here and there between large stones. In wooded parts of the country they were made entirely of brush piled up to about the same height and partially covered with thick bark and earth. The nature of the breastworks depended a great deal on the environment, configuration of the ground, material at hand, and the number of people engaged in making them. Many were semicircular, some were completely circular, and others formed straight lines and zigzags.

War Dress.—War dress varied a great deal, as each man attired himself according to his own inclinations and dreams. Some men went into battle with only a breechclout, moccasins, and headdress, while in olden times suits of armor were worn by many. Most warriors wore a special headdress of some kind, which varied among individuals according to their guardian spirits, dreams or tastes. For war the hair was usually done up in special fashions (see p. 85); and all warriors painted their faces and exposed parts of the body in designs of different colors, often according to their dreams. Others had styles which they considered lucky or which they had adopted from past usage. Feathers, skins, pieces of skins, and hair of animals considered as guardian spirits were often attached to the hair of the head, and to clothes, shields, and weapons. These as well as the designs painted on the body were supposed to lend power to the wearer and to protect him. The medicine case was often carried in battle, and many men wore scalp shirts and scalps or scalp locks. Besides the common eagle feather war bonnets, others made of the head skins of animals, set with horns, and entire skins of large birds, were used. A common "medicine skin" was that of a small owl noted for keenness of sight. The entire skin was fastened to the back of the hair, with the owl's face looking backward. Persons who had this owl for their guardian spirit and who wore its skin thus in their hair were protected from being attacked unawares. They were also exempt from any danger of attack from behind. Some men attached scalps to the hair; and long feather streamers hung from the hair or from the backs and sides of war bonnets. Some men took charms out of their medicine bags before battle and attached them to their hair. As already stated, war horses were often painted and decorated. White horses were preferred, and therefore were of most value among the Indians, because they showed off the paintings and decorations better than horses of other colors. Red was the common war color; but yellow, black, blue, and white were also used. War customs and war dances will be described later on. (See p. 187.)

WARS.—In olden times the Coeur d'Alêne had occasional wars with the Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, Nez Percé, and Kutenai; and in later times, after they began to hunt buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains, they fought with the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and other eastern tribes. There are no traditions of wars with the Paloos, Cayuse, Columbia, and other western tribes. The following narratives will illustrate some of these wars, and at the same time throw some light on certain customs of the people.

Wars with the Spokan.—Usually the two tribes, the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan, were friends. They traded and played games with each other. However, once long ago they were at war with each other for a time. A Spokan chief had given his daughter to be the wife of a Coeur d'Alêne chief. He had done this as a mark of esteem and of good will to this chief and to the Coeur d'Alêne tribe, and also to cement their friendship. The girl went with her husband to his home. Afterwards her husband had bad luck gambling. He blamed his bad luck on his new wife and hired a man to kill her. When the Spokan heard of this, they were very indignant, and declared war on the whole Coeur d'Alêne tribe. Those members of both tribes who lived near the limits of their respective territories deserted their homes and retired to their more distant tribespeople, so that a wide strip of intermediate country was left virtually uninhabited. The war lasted two or three years, and was detrimental to both tribes, and especially to the Coeur d'Alêne, who depended on fishing salmon and digging bitterroot within Spokan territory. All trading was also stopped. A Coeur d'Alêne chief [116] went to a salmon-fishing place on the Little Spokane. Coeur d'Alêne parties had been in the habit of going there annually to fish and play games with the Spokan. It was the fishing season, but no one was there. The chief felt very sorrowful when he saw the place look so deserted. He thought of the many good times and all the fun the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan had so often had together at this place. He returned home, and called the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs to a council. Six chiefs met him. He told how he had gone to the fishing place, and how he had sat down and had been overcome with sorrow when he viewed its loneliness, and had thought of the mirth and happiness that used to be there. Now there was no fishing there, and there were no games. All was as if dead. He said he wanted peace, and intended to give his daughter to the Spokan chief to make peace. All the other chiefs agreed with him. The girl was advised that she was to be made a sacrifice for peace, and that there was a possibility that the Spokan would kill her. She said she was willing to do as her father and the other chiefs advised, even if she should lose her life. She dressed herself in her best clothes, and the chiefs gave her a load of fine robes and valuables to carry as presents to the Spokan. Some Coeur d'Alêne men followed her, keeping out of sight. They were sent to learn her fate. One night, after traveling several days without seeing any one, she had a dream in which she was told that she would see people on the morrow. The following morning, shortly after leaving her camp, she saw in the distance a flock of flying cranes making a great noise. She thought people must have startled them, and she went in that direction. After a time she met a Spokan woman, and sat down to chat with her. She told her the errand she was on, and added, "If the Spokan kill me, I do not care; for I have been sent as a sacrifice by my father and the other Coeur d'Alêne chiefs, who all desire peace and a renewal of the friendly relations that formerly existed between the tribes. They are sorry that there is no more intercourse between us." The woman told her to sit where she was. She would go and see the people. This place was not far from Chewelah. A large number of Spokan were encamped there. When the Spokan chief learned of her mission, he sent out some young men to invite her in and to carry the presents she brought. After making a speech to all the people, he distributed the presents among them, and told them that he would take the girl to wife. She was a good girl, and henceforth lived with the Spokan. Shortly afterwards the chiefs of the two tribes met, and a permanent peace was arranged. This was the last war with the Spokan. Since then the two tribes have always been the best of friends.

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[116] Some informants say it was the chief who killed his wife, but most informants say another chief.

Wars with the Kalispel.—Long ago there were several short wars with the Kalispel, and the two tribes sent war parties into each other's territories. Once, in one of the last wars with the Kalispel, the great-grandfather of head chief Saltis of the Coeur d'Alêne was camped with some other men at Sawmill, a place near De Smet. He had three children—one a grown-up lad, and the others a little boy and girl. The Kalispel had invaded the country. They found this camp, attacked it and mortally wounded the men. The lad ran with his brother by his side, and carried his sister under his arm. His brother was shot. When he looked at his sister, he saw that she also had been killed by a shot. He continued running to some bushes, where he hid. Presently two of the enemy came along, riding the same horse. The halter rope was dragging along the ground. As they passed, the lad seized the end of the rope and jerked the horse, dismounting the two men, who ran off. The lad then mounted the horse and rode away. The men shot arrows at him, wounding him slightly, but he escaped. There were several Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead among this Kalispel war party. These tribes were all allies, and they often had joint war parties.

Wars with the Pend d'Oreilles.[37]—Long ago there were sometimes wars with the Pend d'Oreilles, who generally were the aggressors and invaded the Coeur d'Alêne territory. The Coeur d'Alêne never sent war parties into the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Once, at a time when the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead had their first guns, but the Coeur d'Alêne as yet had none, a war party of Pend d'Oreilles, including a number of Flathead, led by a famous chief called *Qutsna'lqʷ* entered the Coeur d'Alêne country and attacked a camp of about a dozen people who were gathering camas at a place about a mile east of De Smet Mission. A fight took place, and most of the Coeur d'Alêne were killed. A woman and her two little sons were taken captive. In the fight one Flathead had become separated from his friends and for a time was unable to find them. The Pend d'Oreilles, thinking he had been killed, said, "We will kill the woman to make even the loss of our friend." They dismounted, and stabbed the woman with a very large knife, the kind used by the Flathead, which was different from the knives of the Coeur d'Alêne. Before stabbing her, they made her tell where the other camps of her tribe were located. They did not kill the little boys, but gave them each a piece of buffalo gut, and told them to go home. This happened on the trail, a few miles to the east of De Smet. Later some Coeur d'Alêne men happened to come along, and, finding the woman still alive, bandaged her wound. She asked to be taken to the little spring near De Smet. They carried her there and left her. She got well. This woman was the great-grandmother of the narrator of this story, Nicodemus *Qwaro'tus*, my chief informant among the Coeur d'Alêne. One man escaped unhurt from the Coeur d'Alêne camp. He crossed the hills by a short route to St. Marys River and informed the people he met of what had happened. At once six or seven men started back with him to alarm other camps, and to try to intercept the invaders. Meanwhile the Pend d'Oreilles attacked a camp about 7 miles from De Smet, near the present Government sawmill. The people there were also digging camas. During the previous night a man in this camp dreamed that the camp would be attacked by Flathead, and accordingly had left. When he heard the shots he ran away as fast as possible. During the attack one man escaped from the camp with his two sons and one daughter. He carried the children under his arms. They ran along a creek unobserved, but later, on crossing a piece of flat, open ground, were seen and attacked. The little girl was shot with an arrow, and he himself was badly wounded.[33] The man told the lad, "I am badly wounded; save yourself." He ran away some distance and then returned, as he did not want to leave his father. Again his father entreated him to run, and he ran off and hid in some bushes. The enemy dispatched the man and pursued the lad. As the bushes were thick, the enemy dismounted and left their horses loose in the open. The chief called out to the lad that if he lay still, they would not kill him; but his guardian, the Coyote, told him, "Do not fear, they can not kill you. Run, and you will be safe." He ran out of the bushes to where the horses were, took one by the rope and tried to mount it. He failed because the rod armor he wore had slipped down too low on his hips. He jerked it up with his teeth and managed to mount. The warriors ran out of the bushes and shot arrows at him, one of them striking his backside. Then they pursued him; but he whipped up his horse and escaped. Afterwards the Coeur d'Alêne marked the bark of a tree at this place to commemorate the exploit. All the people in the sawmill camp were killed except this lad and the man who had the dream.

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[37] The narrator hesitated to tell this story. He suggested that if it were printed it might hurt the feelings of some Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. He believed that these evil doings of the past should be forgotten, and that people should not continue to tell them to their children; that anything which might cause bitter feelings to a people or wound their pride should be avoided.

The following year a small party of Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead returned to the Coeur d'Alêne country. Among them was *Qutxna'lq*[*], who had been chief of the war party that slaughtered the Coeur d'Alêne the previous year, and two other chiefs called *P'oqp'oqcine'na* and *Oitsmu's*. The latter two wanted *Qutsma'lqʷ* to make peace, and had accompanied him for the purpose of aiding in the matter. They went to the main camp of the Coeur d'Alêne at Coeur d'Alêne City. The Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were not afraid to travel in small parties in an enemy country, as they had guns. The Pend d'Oreilles party camped near the Coeur d'Alêne, who now began to gather in great numbers at Coeur d'Alêne City. After much talk, the Coeur d'Alêne chiefs agreed to make peace; and after all the terms had been arranged, they and the Pend d'Oreilles chiefs began to smoke the peace pipe brought by the latter. Just as they started to smoke, the lad who had escaped from the fight at Sawmill, and had been wounded, spoke up, addressing the Coeur d'Alêne chiefs, and objecting to the making of peace. He said to them, "It is easy for you to make peace, for you have had none of your near relatives slaughtered; but what about my slaughtered relatives?" Then he addressed the Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, saying, "It is all right for you to make peace with us; but I can not make peace with you, for you have killed my parents, and my brother and sister. To-morrow I will see if I can make peace with you." This broke up the peace proceedings. That day the Pend d'Oreilles moved camp a mile away, that they might have the shelter of a very large fir tree, as it was raining. On the following morning they were sitting around their fires at this tree, and a large number of Coeur d'Alêne encircled them on the outside. The chiefs were about to speak of peace again. *Qutsma'lqʷ* was seated with sinew and awl, sewing his gun case. The lad who had spoken the previous day was hidden behind some of the people. He began to play with his bow and arrows unseen by the Pend d'Oreilles. Suddenly he drew his bow and shot from his hiding place. *Qutsma'lqʷ* looked up when he heard the twang of the bow-string, and at the same moment was pierced through the stomach and killed. He exclaimed, "I thought this was going to happen!" Now the Pend d'Oreilles and Coeur d'Alêne fought, and many were killed. Chief *P'oqp'oqcins'na* was killed. Chief *Oitsmu's* escaped with some others. The Pend d'Oreilles party lost all their horses and guns. The Coeur d'Alêne divided the horses; but the guns they broke up, and made knives out of the metal, as they did not know how to use them. According to some, this Pend d'Oreilles peace party was about one-third Pend d'Oreilles, the rest being Kalispel and Flathead. Some people say a majority were Kalispel. The following year a large Flathead party came to the Little Spokane River; and their chief called all the chiefs of the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, Colville, and Kutenai to meet him there. He wanted to make a peace between all these tribes, and have their differences settled once and for all. All the chiefs went, and many followers with them. There was a great assembly. The Flathead chief made a great speech, and said that the peace pipe must be filled and smoked. One Flathead said, "No. How can we smoke the peace pipe? The Coeur d'Alêne broke it. There is no peace pipe. How can it be smoked?" The Coeur d'Alêne said they were willing to smoke, as they could make an honorable peace now, for Flathead blood had been spilled as well as Coeur d'Alêne blood. Any peace arranged before would have been one-sided and dishonorable. Many speeches were made, and the conference lasted a number of days. At last everything was arranged amicably, and the pipe was smoked by all the chiefs of these tribes. They agreed that there should be an everlasting peace between them; that none would fight the others and that all would be friends and allies. This pledge has never since been broken.

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[33] Another version has it that the man carried one child under his arm and the lad carried the other. Both children were shot with arrows and killed as they were being carried.

[*] A Coeur d'Alêne, but not a chief.—G. Reichard.

Wars with the Kutenai.—Coeur d'Alêne parties sometimes went to the Lower Kutenai country and attacked the people there, but the Kutenai never retaliated by invading the Coeur d'Alêne country. Probably the last fight between them happened as follows: At the time when guns were first introduced among the Coeur d'Alêne, two brothers had a gun between them. One day they quarreled about the gun, each wanting to hunt with it. At last one brother said to the other, "Well, you may have the gun as your sole property. I will go and get a gun in war." At that time the Kutenai, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead had a great many guns, but the Coeur d'Alêne had hardly any. The brother arrayed himself for war, and, taking a canoe, went down the river to the lake, where he saw a number of people ashore. He hailed them and told them he was going to fight the Kutenai. Many men said they would join him. At last the party numbered about 100 men, and they held a war dance. They crossed the lake and portaged their canoes on their heads, taking turns carrying them. Afterwards they cached their canoes and went on foot until they reached Pend d'Oreille Lake. Here they made new canoes and crossed the lake. There were many loons on the lake, and they made a great noise when they saw the canoes. Someone said, "Stop those birds from crying!" One man who was a shaman tried and failed. Then another tried and succeeded. When they arrived at the head of the lake they cached their canoes and proceeded on foot. At last they reached a place on the Kootenay River where there was a large camp of Lower Kutenai. The party counseled as to whether they should attack the camp by daylight or wait until early morning. They decided to wait. At daybreak they rushed the camp and surprised the Kutenai, who were unable to put up a fight and fled. Some jumped into the river and swam away; others hid in the water, holding on to bushes, which concealed them; and some reached their canoes and crossed the river. Many Kutenai were killed; and the Coeur d'Alêne captured all the valuables in camp, including several guns. In the camp was a buffalo-skin tent, which was thought to be empty, as no one had attempted to escape from it. It was occupied, however, by a sick man who had a gun. A Coeur d'Alêne went to look in, and the Kutenai shot him in the thigh, wounding him badly. The brother who had started the war party then killed the sick man and took possession of his gun.

Wars with the Nez Percé.—The Coeur d'Alêne probably had more wars with the Nez Percé than with any of the Salish tribes, and each invaded the other's territory. These wars, however, were not frequent. Once during a war with the Nez Percé a band of Coeur d'Alêne was camped on Hangmans Creek, at a place about 3 miles west of De Smet, gathering camas. Some Nez Percé had been killed some time before in a fight, and the Nez Percé had declared that they would exterminate the Coeur d'Alêne. As it was war time, the band at Hangmans Creek had partially fortified their camp and were constantly on the alert. A large war party of Nez Percé went there and surrounded them. They assaulted the camp, but were repulsed. The parties fought for two days, many Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne being killed. The headman of the Coeur d'Alêne said to his friends, "The Nez Percé far outnumber us. We can not hold out against their numbers, and probably to-morrow the last of us will be killed. To save ourselves I will try a ruse." He was a strong, athletic man. At midnight he left the camp and ran in the dark swiftly from place to place in front of the Nez Percé lines, giving the war cry "Wa-a-a!" in a loud voice. At the same time the people in the Coeur d'Alêne camp began to shout and to make a great noise. They also called out challenges and insults to the Nez Percé. The chief standing in front of the Nez Percé, but unseen because of the darkness, spoke loudly to them in their own language, saying, "Nez Percé, we do not want to be always bad friends. We will give you a chance to go home; and if you don't go, then at daybreak we shall slaughter you. All the Coeur d'Alêne warriors from St. Joseph's, Coeur d'Alêne City, and other places are now here, and we shall give you battle at daybreak." The Nez Percé held a consultation. They believed that the man had spoken the truth, for there appeared to be great joy and shouting in the Coeur d'Alêne camp. They left that night, and the Coeur d'Alêne escaped.

Wars with the Blackfoot and other tribes east of the Rocky Mountains.—The Plains tribes had no fixed boundaries. They had their homes in certain places; but they traveled hundreds of miles, looking for buffalo, and changing their headquarters from time to time. The Coeur d'Alêne never visited the real homes of any of these tribes, as they were far to the east; but they often met them when they were buffalo hunting in the intermediate country, and they knew the general direction of what was considered to be the country of each tribe. The Flathead knew much more than the Coeur d'Alêne regarding the countries from which these tribes came. As all these eastern tribes were encroaching on the western tribes and on one another, there was almost constant warfare between them and the western Indians, as well as among themselves. On the other hand, the western Indians were allies, and did not fight among themselves. The western part of the plains, stretching from the Flathead main camps to the Yellowstone and easterly for a very long distance, was at one time practically an intertribal hunting and battle ground. No one lived there permanently; but all the tribes hunted and fought in it, and tried to claim hunting rights by force of arms. Nearly all parties who traveled or hunted in this region were perforce large, for small parties were liable to be cut off and exterminated at any time. Long ago most of this western strip of the plains country belonged to Flathead and Shoshoni tribes, who hunted there, usually in small parties. The Blackfoot and Crow invaded the country in large numbers, and for a time drove out the Flathead and Shoshoni. Many of the bands of these tribes who formerly lived east of the mountains were practically wiped out, and others retreated to the west and south. The Shoshoni especially were severely handled, and for many years no Shoshoni were seen on the northwestern plains north of the Yellowstone. The Flathead were also much reduced in numbers during these wars, which had lasted many years. Therefore they made peace with all the western tribes, and invited them to join them as partners in buffalo hunting in their former territory. After this the Coeur d'Alêne and other western Salish tribes began to go in ever-increasing numbers to join the Flathead in hunting and war. Many Kutenai and Nez Percé also went annually. All these tribes made their rendezvous in the Flathead country, and moved from there eastward, northward, and southward for buffalo hunting in three or more large parties, keeping more or less in touch with one another during their travels. Being equal in numbers, and superior in horses and weapons to most parties of the Plains Indians, they had little difficulty in holding their own. These conditions continued until the buffalo became nearly extinct. The Coeur d'Alêne generally went with the Spokan, and both often with the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Sometimes part of them went with the Flathead, and at other times with the Nez Percé. Most fighting occurred with the Blackfoot, who were considered the worst enemies of the Salish tribes, but also with the Crow, and in later days with the Sioux. The Snake, Bannock, and Ute were almost always friendly with the Salish tribes, and were aligned with them against the eastern tribes. Only one short war between the Salish and Shoshoni is remembered. This was with a tribe of Snake inhabiting the Yellowstone country. The final fight in this war was between them and a large force of combined Flathead (or Pend d'Oreilles), Spokan, and Coeur d'Alêne, who, after a fierce battle, captured nearly all the horses, baggage, and buffalo meat of the Shoshoni. So much of the buffalo meat was taken that it could not be transported, and most of it was left there. The Snake who escaped were nearly all on foot. After this some other Snake acted as intermediaries, and peace was made. No Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes, or Shoshoni, ever came to the Coeur d'Alêne country. The Blackfoot and Crow knew little about taking horses and transports through mountains. They were used to traveling with travois in a flat country. When their war parties went into the Rocky Mountains in search of Snake or Flathead, they were always afoot, and as a rule met with little success. Once, long ago, a large party of Blackfoot invaded the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead countries. A battle was fought which lasted two days, and the Blackfoot were driven off. A number of men were killed on both sides. About this time or a little later a party of Blackfoot and another Plains tribe, possibly the Gros Ventres, attacked the Pend d'Oreilles and were driven off with considerable loss. Either this fight or another one occurred at *sniyelemen* (now Mission in the Pend d'Oreilles country). At a still later date a large war party of Crow attacked and defeated the Shoshoni, and, following this up, attacked the Flathead, who, however, routed them and drove them south. Once, at a time when the Salish tribes had many horses but very few guns, and the Blackfoot a good many guns but not many horses, a large party of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, and Coeur d'Alêne, with a few Sanpoil and Columbia, were traveling in a flat country along a large river, possibly the Yellowstone, on their way to hunt buffalo. At the same time a war party of 32 Blackfoot were returning from an unsuccessful raid against the Crow or Shoshoni. They camped on a hill not far from the river, and were tired, for all were on foot. That night one of the party dreamed, and woke up the others before daybreak. He told them, "You must not go down to the river. I dreamed that down there the ground was red with blood, and it was your blood. I saw the sunrise that will come in a short time, and it was very red. In its glow I saw many people, and then I saw your blood on the river." They laughed at him, and all of them went down to the river except the man who had dreamed and his brother. They went farther up the hill, and sat down to watch. It was just daybreak when the 30 left and went to the river at a place where a creek came in. There was a flat near the stream strewn with bowlders and bearing a little timber. The plateau ended in a bluff above this place, and the Flathead and others were in the habit of driving buffalo over this bluff whenever they had the opportunity. The Blackfoot party had just reached the river when the two men on the hill saw many people approaching on horseback. This was the Salish party, and they soon noticed the Blackfoot in the hole and surrounded them. The Blackfoot threw up a breastwork of rocks and trees, and a battle ensued. The Salish shot bullets and arrows at the Blackfoot until there was no further response. Then they rushed to the breastwork, and found that the Blackfoot were all *hors de combat.* They drew out all the bodies one after the other, and examined their wounds. One very large man was shot only on the tip of the shoulder, and still he appeared to be dead. They watched him; and when he showed signs of reviving, they killed him with a knife. Some wounded men had crawled under the rocks and into underground passages which had been made there at a former time, probably for concealment. These places were searched and the bodies pulled out. One wounded man almost escaped. A Flathead searcher pursued him, and killed him after a hand-to-hand struggle. They counted 30 bodies. After scalping them and taking all their best clothes and weapons, they left the bodies lying where they were. Among the weapons was a number of guns (perhaps 10 or more), which were considered a great prize at that time. The bones of these Blackfoot remained at this spot for several years afterwards, scattered among the rocks by wolves, and mixed with old buffalo bones. The two Blackfoot brothers who had been watching made good their escape during the fight, unobserved by the Salish, and reached their own country.

Wars with the whites.—The Coeur d'Alêne were on the whole always friendly to the whites. They never made any aggressions against the fur traders and first white settlers. During the Cayuse wars (1845–1850) and the Yakima wars (1855–56) they were neutral. Owing to some dissatisfaction over the treaty made with Governor Stevens, which they claimed the whites had not kept, and probably for some other causes, the Coeur d'Alêne joined the Spokan in the war of the latter (1858). In this war it seems they never attacked any of the traders and settlers, but only the soldiers who invaded their country. In May, 1858, a large force of Coeur d'Alêne, led by their head chief, Saltis, participated with the Spokan and a few Colville and other Salish, in the defeat of Colonel Steptoe's command of 200 dragoons and 30 Nez Percé scouts near Steptoe Butte. It seems that there were no Yakima and Paloos in this battle, as claimed by some authorities. The Indians pursued the remnants of the column to the Snake River. In September of the same year the Coeur d'Alêne were also engaged in two attacks on Colonel Wright's force of about 1,000 men; and they took part in the battles of Four Lakes and Spokane Plains, in which the Indians were defeated. In the latter engagement they fought all day, and a few days afterwards again engaged Colonel Wright on his way to Coeur d'Alêne Mission. When the soldiers reached there the Coeur d'Alêne submitted and their allies dispersed. The Indians claim that strong influence to submit was brought to bear on them by the priests and others; but the chief reason was that they were entirely out of ammunition and had no way of replenishing it. They considered it foolish to continue the war with bows and arrows against rifles and artillery. In 1877 the Coeur d'Alêne refused to join Chief Joseph, and a large body under the same Chief Saltis turned out to drive the Nez Percé out of the settlements and protect the white settlers. The tribe was neutral during the Bannock war of 1878. By 1880 very few of them went to the plains; and by 1885, the buffalo being practically extinct, the last of the Coeur d'Alêne settled permanently on their reserve.

Internal fights.—Occasionally long ago there were blood feuds between families of the Coeur d'Alêne. One of these came about in the following way. Very long ago a Flathead or Pend d'Oreilles chief sent his daughter to marry a Coeur d'Alêne chief called *Hinwa'xəne* (full name *Hinwaxənin'ct?*). He directed her how to go, telling her to descend Coeur d'Alêne River. She made a mistake and went down St. Joe River. A man called *Cilltcsq'wa'iltxʷ* [f] was on the river in a canoe. He saw a woman approaching who wore a leather dress painted red, and knew she must be a stranger. When she saw him she sat down on the river bank and he came to her in the canoe. They began to talk, but, not understanding each other's languages, they had to resort to signs. She told the name of her father, that he was a chief of the Flathead (or Pend d'Oreilles), and that he had sent her to marry a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne called *Waxəne'*. He answered that he was glad, because he was *Waxəne'*, and she must come with him. This man lived at *Xwa'ret*,[g] an old Indian village near Harrison, and he took the girl there. After staying four days the girl noticed that her husband's friend, who often came to visit him, always called him *Cilltcsq'wa'iltxʷ*, and she had heard people ask him to go to *Waxəne's* house. This aroused her suspicions. After this, one day she saw the chief's daughter playing, and asked her the name of her husband. The girl answered, "Your husband's name is *Cilltcsq'wa'iltxʷ*." She then asked the girl what her father's name was, and she answered, "My father's name is *Waxəne'*." Then she told the chief's daughter that she had been sent by her father to marry *Waxəne'*. The girl told her father; but the latter said nothing for a time, for *Cilltcsq'wa'iltxʷ* was one of four brothers. The whole family were noted as bad men and great fighters. Now, it came to be wintertime; and, ice having formed on the river, most of the people began to prepare for a great elk hunt. The chief, *Waxəne'*, arranged with four men to kill *Cilltcsq'wa'iltxʷ* as soon as most of the people had left. The people were hardly out of sight when they killed him. An old man who lagged behind heard the dogs yelping furiously and turned back to see what was the matter. The chief told the four men, "We must now kill *Cł'ilicsq'wa'ilixʷ's* three brothers, or they will kill us." He persuaded the old man to help. The brothers had gone with the elk-hunting party. The old man went on to the camp of the elk hunters and told stories, keeping the people up very late, and making them very sleepy. When all were asleep, he went out and told the four men who were waiting where the brothers slept. They went in and killed them all. Then they went at once to another camp, where the uncle and other relatives of the brothers were, and killed them also. The father of the brothers was an aged infirm man, and lived at another place. They induced the people with whom he lived to desert him, saying that they were going hunting and would be back soon. They left him firewood, but no food, and he died of starvation. When the four men returned to the chief, he feasted them and gave them presents. The girl became the wife of *Waxɛmé'* and lived with him. As all the males of *Cł'ilicsq'wa'ilixʷ's* family were killed off, there was no one to avenge their death on *Waxɛmé'* and his helpers.

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[f] He lived at St. Marie's.—G. Reichard. [g] Harrison.—G. Reichard.

VIII. GAMES AND PASTIMES

Dice and Guessing Games.—A great many games were played. A favorite one among women was the game of dice played with beaver teeth, which were tossed down on a blanket, robe, skin, or mat. The game and the dice seem to have been the same as among the Thompson.[219] The manner of counting is said to have varied a little in different places. The dice consisted of four pieces, making two pairs. One pair was marked with straight transverse lines; the other with zigzag lines.

A card game was in vogue long ago; but particulars of this game and the marks on the cards are now forgotten. The cards were generally made of stiff hide of young deer; but some were of wood split very thin, and others were of birch bark.[220] Each card was marked. Sometimes the designs represented dreams. As far as remembered, the cards were marked in pairs; but the number of pairs or cards in the set is uncertain. Some say the numbers varied in different sets.

The stick game played by the Thompson with marked sticks[221] was unknown; but a guessing game was in vogue, played with six or seven unmarked sticks of about the same length and diameter as those used in the stick game of the Thompson. The sticks were all of an even length except one, which was longer than the others. They were held in the hands with all the ends arranged evenly on the side exposed toward the person who had to guess. One was selected and pulled out. If it was one of the short sticks, the guesser lost; and if the long one, he won.

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[219] *a*, p. 272, and fig. 256.]

[220] See Thompson, *a*, p. 276, and fig. 264.

[221] *a*, pp. 272, 273.

The hand game or *lehal* was very common and was played in the same way as among the Thompson,[222] but 22 sticks were used as counters instead of 10 and 12, as among most other tribes. Knuckle covers [223] were used by many in playing the game. They were made of otter, weasel, coyote, and other skins, and were fringed. Singing always accompanied the game, and time was beaten with short sticks on a log or board placed in front of the players.

HOOP OR RING GAMES.—A number of hoop or ring games were played. A favorite game was the ring and pole game of the Thompson [224] and other tribes. Among the Coeur d'Alêne the logs for stopping the ring from rolling too far were from 10 to 15 centimeters in diameter and generally placed about 5 meters apart. There were many different ways of playing, such as standing with the toe to a mark or not moving forward when throwing the lance or stick, erect, and taking one step forward when throwing, erect and two steps forward, sitting, kneeling, kneeling and one hand on the ground, and so on. The lance or stick was thrown so as to stop the ring and make it fall over on the stick. Points were counted according to the beads that rested against the stick. All rings had two blue beads, which counted the greatest number of points. The other beads were of various colors. In early times bone beads were used, also colored quills, or, instead, wrappings at the various spaces on the ring. The sizes of rings and throwing sticks were about the same as among the Thompson. Besides different methods of throwing, there were several ways of counting and all had names. Each bead and combination of beads and the positions of the ring on the stick had names, as well as almost every inch of the throwing stick. No other game had nearly as rich a nomenclature as this game. In most ways of playing, besides counting the beads and their positions against the stick, the part of the stick the beads rested against was also counted. Thus most sticks had divisions marked on them with rings and wrappings. People bet and gambled much in this game, and there were often disagreements and quarrels. Elderly men known to be honest and disinterested were appealed to or asked to act as referees or arbitrators to settle all disputes in the game. These referees used slender sticks or pointers, with which they righted ring and stick, thus ascertaining accurately the positions of the beads. Their decision was final.

Another ring and stick game was common. The ring was usually about 30 centimeters in diameter, or slightly more, made of a stick bent into a circle, the ends joined, or, more generally, two sticks bent and joined. A web of thong or bark twine filled up the inside of the ring like a net, leaving a circular hole in the center about 3 cm. in diameter. (Fig. 13.) The Indians claim that the weaving of the hoop was generally done as sketched. It seems that some hoops varied in the number of meshes and therefore in the size of mesh. Two persons rolled the ring back and forth to each other while two others, one on each side, took turns at throwing the stick or spear at the hoop. The persons throwing generally stood. As a rule, two played against two and turns were taken at rolling and spearing the hoop. The object was to throw the spear through the central hole. This won the game. Points were also counted according to the mesh that was hit—the nearer to the center, the higher the points. These meshes had different names. If a person hit the same mesh twice in succession he had to withdraw from the game or allow himself to be prodded in the backside by the other players with their sticks. (This was also a forfeit or punishment in ring games of the Thompson.) The stick or spear used in this game was more than a meter long, sharp-pointed, and made of a slip of a young tree with from three to seven stubs of branches left on the upper part to prevent it going entirely through the meshes.

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[222] a, pp. 275, 276.

[223] See Thompson, a, fig. 263; also Peabody Mus., No. 367.

[224] a, p. 274, fig. 260.

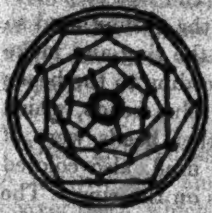
FIGURE 11.—Netted hoop

A game with feathered lances or sticks, like large arrows, was also common. These were about a meter in length and like war lances for throwing; only they had no attached heads, the points being simply sharpened. I did not obtain any particulars of this game, but it seems that the lances were hurled at targets and marks of different kinds.

A ring-and-dart game like that played by the Thompson [illegible] was much played by boys. The ring was about 15 cm. in diameter and made of tule or strips of bark wound around a core. The darts were feathered and like those of the Thompson. Both this game and the preceding one have been out of use for a long time.

ARROW GAMES.—A number of arrow games were played. In some of these rings and disks were used. One kind of disk was about 8 inches in diameter, made of a coiled stick wrapped with bark. It was round in section, and thick. It was set going and arrows were shot at it from the side as it passed, the object being to hit the disk as it rolled.

Another similar game was played with a ring or rolling target made of two sticks woven together side by side with bark. In this case the ring was wide in section and was shot at from behind as it sped away.

Another arrow game was to shoot at a target consisting of a circle marked on the face of a hard sandy bluff. Sometimes the target consisted of several rings marked one inside the other.

Yet another arrow game was like ninepins, only the pins were shot at. The pins or targets were made of grass wrapped tightly with

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[illegible] a, pp. 274, 275, fig. 261; also Peabody Mus., Nos. 363, 364.

twine. They were from 25 to 30 cm. in length and about 10 cm. in diameter. These grass targets were set up one or more at each end of the shooting ground. Sometimes rows of them were used.

Another arrow game was to shoot an arrow into a sandy mound or bank and use it as a target, the object being to hit the nock of the arrowshaft.

A boy's arrow game in which blunt arrows were used was mentioned as having been at one time in vogue, but it has been out of use for a very long time and I obtained no details regarding it.

Ball Games.—A number of ball games were played. The most common one was played with bats having crooked ends and was the same as the ball game played by the Thompson [226] and other tribes. The bats were very much like hockey sticks.[227] In some forms of the game, netting was used on the sticks [228] and the ball was caught in this and thrown forward. It seems that the netted sticks were used chiefly in winter, when there was snow on the ground and the ball hard to advance without lifting and throwing. According to the rules of the game, the ball must not be touched with the hands, but it might be kicked as well as hit with the bat. Some players used guard sticks [229] in this game. Balls were made of deer's hair sewed tightly in leather. No wooden balls were used.

It is uncertain whether the ball game played like baseball, as described for the Thompson,[230] was in vogue very long ago, but a form of this game was played at one time. Another ball game was like one very common among the Lower Thompson.[231] The ball was thrown up and all tried to catch it. The one who caught it ran and the others tried to catch him before he reached the goal. When caught or slapped with the hand, he had to throw the ball up. Women often participated in these games. Some of both sexes played on each side when there were sides. Occasionally one sex played against the other. Usually men played together in one place and women in another; or the same playground was used by both sexes in turn. Ball games were played by the tribe until lately. Nowadays the young men of the reservation have a good baseball team, and play against white teams from neighboring towns in Idaho and Washington.

There are some indications that a ball-and-hoop game similar to that played by Thompson children [232] was at one time in vogue, but I did not ascertain this with certainty.

A ball game was played on smooth ice. A small ball was rolled at a mark. If it missed the mark, the game was lost. Sometimes a ring instead of a ball was rolled at a mark.

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[226] a, pp. 277, 278, figs. 265, 267, 268.

[227] See Thompson, a, fig. 267 a.

[228] See Thompson, a, fig. 267 b.

[229] See Thompson, a, fig. 268.

[230] a, p. 277, figs. 265, 266.

[231] a, p. 278.

[232] a, p. 279, fig. 269.

The ball-and-pin game was common, and was the same as among the Thompson.[233] The pin consisted of a sharpened stick or bone, and the ball of grass, tule, or bark. In the early summer balls for this game were often made of the growing heads of the cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum* Michx.) before the flowers came out. It is said that some of the ball and other games that were in vogue long ago have now been forgotten, and even the names of some games are no longer remembered.

SPORTS.—Many kinds of athletic games and sports were at one time practiced. Favorite winter sports, engaged in by old and young of both sexes, were coasting and sliding. Coasting slides were made on open parts of hillsides, and the toboggans consisted of pieces of rawhide and bark, which were bent up in front. Sliding was practiced on good smooth ice, after a light fall of dry snow, and was much enjoyed.

Tugging or pulling games were common. In one of these, hooks made of eagle bones were used, two men pulling against each other until one bone broke. Pulling with the middle fingers and pulling on a rope was practiced. Sometimes teams of men took part in rope pulling.

Wrestling contests were common among men, and women also wrestled occasionally. A wrestling match between women often furnished great amusement to the spectators.

All the Indians could swim. The arms were worked dog fashion, and they struck out with the right foot. Sometimes there were swimming races. Nearly all the men could dive, and some men could dive right across St. Joe River.

Foot racing and canoe racing, and in later days horse racing, were common. Jumping for distance and height were both practiced, and also the standing jump, running jump, and vaulting.

A catching game was in vogue, called "making slaves." Two goals were marked at opposite ends of the playground with stones, poles, pegs, or scratches in the earth. On the clapping of hands by a "chief," who sometimes stood in the middle, the game commenced. The object was to touch the hands of any person of the opposite side, and then return and reach one's own goal without being caught by him. The person caught was considered and called a "slave" or "captive of war," and was conducted over to the enemy lines by the person who caught him. The game continued thus until one side was out. Women often participated in this game.

A kicking game[234] was in vogue among men, especially at gatherings where there were many young men. There were contests in this game between men of different villages and of different bands.

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[233] Peabody Museum, Nos. 362, 403.

[234] This game was also common among the Thompson.

Sometimes there were intertribal contests. Often 30 or more men played on a side. They formed in two rows, facing each other, and after taunting each other, at a given signal by the "chief" of the game they rushed forward in close formation and kicked each other until one line fell back. Sometimes the two opposing rows were drawn up close together or within striking distance and lines made on the ground close behind each. At a signal they began kicking, and whichever side pushed the other back over their line won. When a man was forced back over his own line by his adversary he was out of the game. Sometimes this game resulted in fighting. Once a party of Coeur d'Alêne were digging *pitcĕlū'sa* roots, which were obtained only on the borders of the Nez Percé country. A party of Nez Percé were also gathering roots near by. While the women were out digging roots the men of the two parties had games and sports. They had been playing *lehal* and other games all day. In the evening a young Nez Percé gave the challenge for the kicking game, calling loudly, "Hu ha, hu ha, hu ha!" The Coeur d'Alêne accepted and went to play. The contest was very stubborn, neither side being able to push the other. At last some of the young men began to quarrel and fight. One Coeur d'Alêne took a stick and struck a Nez Percé over the head, knocking him senseless. The chief ran up and stopped the game, otherwise there might have been bloodshed. This happened about 1860.

Cat's-cradle was played a great deal, especially to amuse children. The figures made were the following: Coyote, skunk, beaver, bear, beaver and bear, owl, magpie, geese, snake, salmon, sun, man and sun, man and dog, two men, woman roasting ducks, fish trap, tent, skin stretched on a frame, shoulder blade, and some others. The knee and mouth were brought into use in making some of the figures.

All the above-mentioned games and sports were in vogue before the introduction of the horse, except horse racing. After horses had become common, sham battles and war maneuvers were sometimes practiced on horseback under the direction of chiefs.

Dancing was a favorite amusement, and also singing. Cries of animals and birds were imitated by children for amusement, and also the actions and speech of certain individuals and of old people. Play acting and mimicry of animals, persons, and mythological characters were in vogue. Sometimes the actors dressed up for the occasion so as to make the acting more effective (see p. 163). Many kinds of toys were made for children, including miniature canoes, board baby-carriers, bows and arrows. Dolls were used by nearly all girls.

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

According to tradition, a sign language has been used from the earliest times. The old sign language is said to have been somewhat different from the modern form, but the Coeur d'Alêne do not remember that earlier type. The old style of sign language was used by all the interior Salishan tribes known to the Coeur d'Alêne, and by neighboring tribes of other stocks. It was understood over a large area, and may be called the old plateau sign language. It varied slightly between tribes, and was a little different at the extreme boundaries of the country. The present-day sign language is said to be the same, or almost the same, as that used on the plains, and has been employed by the Coeur d'Alêne since the middle of the eighteenth century, ever since they began to go in large bodies to the plains. It seems that, besides the plateau form of sign language, there was at one time a northern form used by the Blackfoot, which differed a little, and also an eastern form used by the Crow; and possibly there were some other forms. However, they did not vary considerably from one another. It is said that the Crows were considered the most proficient in the use of sign language, and possibly the form used by them was the richest. However this may be, the Coeur d'Alêne claim that the plateau and Blackfoot, and all other forms, were modified by the Crow form, whose sign language was finally adopted by all the tribes. This is said to be the form used at the present day by all the Salishan tribes east of Columbia River, and also by the Kutenai, Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, Crow, Shoshoni, Bannock, Nez Percé, and others. Salishan tribes who did not go much to the plains probably continued to use the older or plateau form of the sign language until the Chinook jargon came in. It is said the Coeur d'Alêne did not have much trouble in talking by means of signs with people of any tribe. Some time after the arrival of traders the Chinook jargon began to supersede the sign language along the upper Columbia River and west of it, and later along Fraser River and in other parts to the north, west, and south, but it never took much hold east of the Colville and Lake tribes. Even at the present day very few Coeur d'Alêne understand or speak the Chinook jargon. For comparison with what is probably part of the old plateau form of the sign language as remembered by Thompson and Shuswap, and with the eastern sign language, I collected a few of the signs used by the Coeur d'Alêne representing the form now and lately used in the eastern parts of the plateau and the adjoining parts of the plains. I might have obtained a complete vocabulary had I wished, as the sign language is still used considerably by elderly Coeur d'Alêne in speaking with some Spokan and members of other tribes. Sign language was much used in talking with strangers, in trading and hunting, and as gestures accompanying speech.

SIGNS

1. *Bear*.—The same as Thompson sign No. 1 (see *a*, p. 283). The sign is made with the fists in front of the chest, or perhaps more generally at the sides of the head. (The sign is no doubt imitative of the movements of the bear.)

2. *Deer* (in general).—Index finger held in front of body, pointing outward, and wandering motions made with it from side to side. (Imitative of the movements or manner of deer traveling about.)[235]

3. *Buck deer.*—Four fingers of each hand held near sides of head, fingers slightly apart and pointing upward, hands moved forward and backward, at the same time describing curves. Sometimes the whole head and shoulders are moved uniformly with the hands. (Imitates antlers and movements of a buck.)[236]

4. *Young buck.*—The same sign as the Thompson sometimes make for "doe," but the two fingers on each side moved around as in the "buck" sign.[237]

5. *Doe.*—The sign for "woman" (No. 15) and then the sign for "deer" (in general) (No. 2).

6. *Raven* (or *Crow*?).—Hands held out in front of sides and pointing slightly sidewise; fingers extending slightly downward or drooping, and both hands moved up and down from the wrists at the same time. (Imitates flapping of wings as made by ravens.)[238]

7. *Eagle.*—Almost the same sign as the preceding, but the hands flopped farther from the body and a little more motion put into the arms; one hand is then pushed downward with a sweep. (Imitates the flying and swooping of an eagle.)[239]

8. *Snake.*—A wriggling zigzag motion made with the hand or forefinger pointing downward and outward. (Imitates the movements of a snake crawling.)[240]

9. *Salmon* (or *Fish*).—Hand held rather stiffly in front of body, edge up, and fingers close together, then moved forward in short rapid zigzags with a movement chiefly from the wrist. (Imitates the movements of a fish, especially swimming upstream.)[241]

10. *Lake trout.*—The same sign as the preceding, then the right index finger pointed to the tip of the left elbow, and shaken or made to describe a small circle. (The last part of the sign seems to refer to the spots on lake trout. Sometimes the circle is made against something of a yellowish or grayish color.) See "color" sign.

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[235] This sign is often used by the Thompson for "unalarmed deer or similar game traveling around feeding."

[236] This sign is also used by the Thompson for "buck deer."

[237] Also used by the Thompson for "young buck," especially for a 2-year-old buck.

[238] This sign is used by the Thompson, who differentiate between raven and crow. The sign is made more slowly if a raven is meant, and generally an imitation of the raven croak (krô) accompanies it; for a crow the movements are faster and the crow cry (kā, kā) is generally given.

[239] The Thompson sign for "eagle" is only a little different from this.

[240] The same sign is used by the Thompson.

[241] See Shuswap, *e*, p. 568, No. 103.

11. *Man.*—Index finger held almost horizontally in front of chest and pointing outward.[242]

12. *Old man.*—Hands clutched and drawn downward close in front of face, and then the sign for "man" made. (The first part of the sign is imitative of the drawing down of the face and wrinkles of old people.)

13. *Man on horseback* (or *riding*).—Left hand held out in front edgewise, fingers close together; sign of "man" made with the right, then the first and second fingers of the latter parted and straddled over the upper edge of the left-hand fingers. (Imitative of riding.)[243]

14. *Chief.*—Right index finger pointed upward directly in front of the brow. (Probably has some connection with "high" or "prominent.")

15. *Woman.*—Hands raised to near top of head, palms backward and fingers toward thumbs, then parted and drawn over or in front of ears with a sweeping motion downward to fronts of shoulders and outward. (Imitates parting of the hair or hairdress of women.)

16. *Wife.*—The same sign as the preceding, then the right fist lowered with a slight jerk at the right side. (Imitates sitting down at your side; *viz*, the one who sits by you.)

17. *Robe.*—Hands closed and passed by each other close to and in front of breast. (Imitates putting on of a robe or blanket.)[244]

18. *Spoon.*—First and second fingers of right hand, backs down, and points inclining upward to the left, then moved in motion as if scooping up something. (Imitates the hollow of a spoon and dipping.)[245]

19. *Knife.*—The right hand held edgewise and moved across the top of the left backward and forward (imitating cutting).[246]

20. *Gun.*—Right arm placed across the breast, with the index finger pointing out past the left arm a little above the elbow or at the elbow. (Imitates a common Indian method of carrying a gun in front of the body, with the muzzle sticking out to the left.)

21. *Shooting a gun.*—This sign is not clear, but I understood it to mean "shooting a gun." Right arm and finger the same as in preceding sign, but higher up, near the left shoulder; one or both eyes closed, then the right hand pushed downward quickly a short distance (probably in imitation of closing the eye when taking aim, and the sudden discharge or recoil of the gun).[247]

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[242] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 7.

[243] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 8.

[244] The same sign is used by the Thompson for "robe" or "putting on a robe."

[245] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, Nos. 10, 11.

[246] Used by the Thompson as a sign of "cutting up or slicing something," also nearly like a Thompson sign for "knife."

[247] See Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 56.

22. *Bow and arrow.*—Same sign as Thompson, No. 55.[278]

23. *Tipi or lodge.*—The two index fingers placed across each other at the first joint, with tips raised more or less upward.[279]

24. *Rain.*—Hands held a little above the head, bent and limp from the wrists, all the fingers toward each other and drooping; hands then moved or shaken up and down. (Imitates frequent dripping.)[280]

25. *Snow.*—The same sign as the preceding, then a small circle made with the index finger (toward something white, if there is a white object handy).

26. *Sun.*—Thumb and forefinger spread and extended upward to the right above the level of the head, and then stopped suddenly. (Probably imitates the course or high position of the sun in the heavens.)

27. *Moon.*—The same sign as for "sun" is made, and then the hands brought over each other in front of the body, a little distance apart and palms down. (May possibly contain the idea of "small" [or "narrow"], or covered sun.)

28. *Star.*—Lips half opened, and sign of "sun" made forward and then upward with a swinging motion. (May be imitative of distribution or scattering. Some Indians say it means literally almost the same as saying "sun thrown away.")

29. *East.*—Index finger pointed to the east, point curved upward, and a half circle described upward toward the body. (Seems to imitate rising or coming out in the east.)[281]

30. *Sunrise.*—The sign of the "sun," and then that of the "east"; or the sign of "east" made with the spread thumb and forefinger. (See "Sun." Imitates the rising of the sun.)[282]

31. *West.*—Index finger with point curved downward, pushed from the body downward toward the west. (Imitates setting or going down in the west.)[283]

32. *Sunset.*—Sign of the "sun," and then that of "west"; or the sign of the "west" made with the spread thumb and forefinger. (Imitates setting of the sun.)[283]

33. *Noon.*—Sign of "sunrise" made. When the motion toward the body reaches near the right ear, the finger is straightened and pointed sharply and directly upward. (Imitates the high position of the sun at noon or overhead.)[284]

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[278] See Thompson, *a*, p. 285.

[279] Used by the Thompson for "tipi" or "conical lodge."

[280] Also used by Thompson Indians.

[281] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 13; p. 286, No. 75.

[282] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 13.

[283] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 14.

[284] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 12.

34. *Cross trails.*—Forefinger of each hand brought out from sides and crossed over each other out in front of the body. (Imitates coming together and crossing.)[285]

35. *Lake.*—Circle described with both hands in front. (Imitates "roundness" or more probably "surrounded" [by earth].)[286]

36. *Bushes.*—Hands brought together facing each other, a little distance apart, with fingers extending upward; then hands moved up and down a little.[287]

37. *Thick brush.*—The same as the preceding, but the hands very close to each other. (Imitates thick growth or things standing thickly together. The movement of the hands seems to indicate that the things are not in one place, or in two rows.)[288]

38. *Cold.*—Clenched hands held more or less closely together in front of body, then arms and hands made to tremble or shake. (Imitates drawn-up feeling and shivering.)[289]

39. *Hot.*—There are several methods of expressing "hot" or "heat" of different kinds, viz: (*a*) Sign made for "no," and then that for "cold"; (*b*) sign made for "good," and then sign for "sun"; (*c*) breath blown slightly as if panting; (*d*) the breath blown slightly as if panting, and then the sign of "sun" made (this is if the sun is very hot, or a person is hot from the heat of the sun).

40. *Tobacco.*—Left hand held palm up in front of the body, hand lax, and palm slightly hollowed; right index finger placed across it, then the index finger and thumb brought together, and small circular motions made with them in the hollow of the palm. (Imitates crushing or mixing in the hand of tobacco preparatory to putting it in the pipe.)[290]

41. *Cigarette.*—Both hands held close together horizontally, points of fingers of each hand almost touching; then fingers of both hands describe motions over the thumbs toward the body. (Imitates rolling of the tobacco in paper.)

42. *Smoking.*—Hand held in front, fingers closed excepting forefinger, which is arched upward with the back outward; the finger is then brought to the mouth and back again several times. (Imitates pipe and puffing smoke.)[291]

43. *Small.*—Right thumb placed underneath the point of the index finger, a little back from the end (sometimes both curved slightly toward each other); hand held out in front of the breast or

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[285] See Thompson, *a*, p. 286, No. 74.

[286] See Thompson, *a*, p. 282, No. 6.

[287] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 4.

[288] See Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 5.

[289] See Thompson, *a*, p. 287, No. 84.

[290] A Thompson sign for "tobacco" is very similar to this one.

[291] A Thompson sign for "pipe" is the same as this one. The sign for "smoking" is different.

face; sometimes also a small or short breath was blown, or the mouth was puckered. (Imitates something "tiny.")[362]

44. *Big.*—Hands held close to each other, palms facing, and fingers bent almost to touching; then the hands suddenly drawn asunder, describing half circles toward the sides of the body. (Seems to imitate something held which expands[363] and can no longer be held.)

45. *Very big.*—The same sign as the preceding, but the circles or sweeps of the hands are more extended.[364]

46. *Color.*—Pointing to something of the desired color, and then making a small circle opposite it with the forefinger.

47. *Bad.*—Hand makes waves in front of the head, is then pushed outward and afterwards downward with fingers extended. (Possibly implies "pushing aside or away from one.")

48. *Good.*—Right hand pushed past front of mouth or lower part of face in a sweep or wave. Sometimes the sweep is made slightly inward toward the body. (Possibly implies "retainment," the opposite of 47.)

49. *No good* or *very bad.*—A wave of the hand inward toward the breast, then outward and downward, as in the sign for "bad." Sometimes the fingers make a slight snappy noise as they move out and down. (Probably implies "pushing away" and "disgust.")

50. *Good looking.*—Right hand drawn over the face to the chin (without touching), and then swept outward, palm down. (Implies "good face.")

51. *Glad.*—Hand drawn up in wriggling motion from opposite the abdomen to the breast, and then outward. (Suggests a feeling of satisfaction or good feeling rising up to the heart or breast.)[365]

52. *Dumb.*—Hands placed flat on the mouth, and then on the ears. (Probably implies "closed in" or "shut" mouth and ears.)[366]

53. *Deaf.*—Hands placed flat on the ears.[367] (Probably implies "closed.")

54. *Dead.*—Right hand passed downward on left side between the body and left arm, the forefinger pointing to the ground. (Seems to have some connection with going down to the ground.)

55. *The chief is dead* or *dead chief.*—The same sign as the preceding, and then the sign for "chief."

56. *I* or *Me.*—Forefinger put on nose. The breast struck with the forefinger is also used.[368]

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[362] A Thompson sign for something very small or a very small quantity was made like this one. The mouth was puckered. See also *a*, p. 287, No. 81.

[363] Also used by the Thompson.

[364] Also used by the Thompson.

[365] Also used by the Thompson.

[366] Used by the Thompson for "dumb" or "deaf and dumb" (can neither speak nor hear).

[367] Also used by the Thompson.

[368] See Thompson, *a*, p. 284, No. 33.

57. *Thou.*—The right arm and forefinger extended and pointed toward a person's breast.[illegible]

58. *Ye.*—Right hand pushed out in front of left side, then drawn across in front and downward to the right. Often the left hand is touched or tapped lightly by the right before making this sign.

59. *All.*—Right hand held in front of breast, palm downward, moved around horizontally.[illegible]

60. *Ye all.*—Same as "Ye" (No. 58); but the hand continues in a wide sweep to the right in horizontal plane, palm down.

61. *Yes.*—Hand with forefinger extended carried across the body to the left, and then struck a little downward.

62. *No.*—Hand drawn up and pushed out to right, back outward, and fingers thrown downward; or the hand extended a little in front of body, and then carried with a sweep to the right and downward. (Seems to be connected with the idea of pushing something aside.)

63. *Good-looking woman.*—Sign of "woman," and then sign of "good-looking."

64. *Good-looking wife.*—Sign of "woman," then sign of "good-looking" and then sign of "wife."

65. (*I*) *think woman not good-looking.*—Sign of "woman," then of "good-looking," then of "thinking," and then of "no good" (No. 49) or "no."

66. *To think* (or *like?*).—Fists held one above the other in front of the breast.

67. *Thou art no good.*—Sign of "no good," and then finger pointed to the person.

68. *Good man.*—Hand brought to breast, and then pushed outward with fingers upward. Also the sign of "man" made, and then that of "good."

69. *Know* or *I know.*—Thumb and forefinger raised to near throat and then thrown outward. (Seems to imply holding or gripping something.)

70. *Don't know.*—Hand held in front, back inclining downward, fingers spreading, then hand shaken from side to side. (Seems to imply shaking off something.)

71. *Don't hear or understand.*—Forefinger held opposite right ear and shaken, hen hand thrown outward to right side and downward.[illegible]

72. *Untrue* or *tells a lie.*—First and second fingers forked or spread, then pushed past front of mouth; then fingers snapped slightly, and hand pushed outward and downward. (The first part of the sign seems to imply talk which is "double" or not direct.)

73. *Drinking* or *to drink.*—Points of bent forefinger and thumb placed touching or almost touching, the two forming a circle, then

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[illegible] Also used by the Thompson, *a*, p. 284, No. 35.

[illegible] Also used by Thompson, *a*, p. 284, No. 28.

[illegible] Also used by Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 53.

drawn to the mouth. Often at the same time a motion of swallowing is made with the throat or mouth.[272]

74. *Whisky.*—Sign of "drinking" made first, and then the sign of "bad" made, or of "crazy."

75. *Jumping.*—The hand pushed out in front upward and then downward, forming a curve, palm down.[273]

76. *Running.*—Like the "bear" sign, but the elbows held well back and moved alternately, as a person does when running.

77. *Falling* or *fall down* (also *capsize*).—The hands placed close together, then carried to the right side and downward; at the same time the hands are turned over.[274] (Seems to imitate something turned over or capsized.)

78. *To fall from a horse.*—Sign of "man on horseback" or "riding," then right hand thrown down to the right side.

79. *Stop.*—Hand held in front, palm forward, and forefinger bent out, then pushed gently outward and downward a couple of times.[275] (Seems to imitate pushing back something.)

80. *Look.*—Fingers of both hands brought up to level of the eyes, then the index fingers extended outward in front.[276]

81. *Thou look.*—Sign of "look," and then both index fingers pointed to the person.

82. *Come.*—Hand extended some distance in front of the body, index finger extended slightly and bent; then the hand swept inward toward the body. (Seems to be imitative of hooking or bringing something toward one.)[277]

83. *Don't come.*—Same sign as "come," and then hand thrown off to the right side. Otherwise the sign of "come" made, and then the sign of "no."

84. *Walking.*—Hands and arms swing alternately outward and inward in front of sides several times.

85. *Meeting.*—Two index fingers brought together in front on a horizontal plane until the points touch.[278]

86. *Two meet.*—The spread first and second fingers of right hand held in front of head, points up, and then the two fingers brought together.

87. *Where from,* or *where have you come from?*—Right hand extended and shaken in wavering motions in front of the body or toward the individual.

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[272] This is like the sign for "drinking" of the Thompson, *a*, p. 283, No. 11.

[273] Like the Thompson sign for "man jumping."

[274] See Thompson, *a*, p. 286, Nos. 65, 66.

[275] See Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 42.

[276] See Thompson, *a*, p. 285, No. 49.

[277] Compare Thompson, *a*, p. 286, No. 75; Shuswap, *c*, p. 567, No. 88.

[278] Compare Thompson, *a*, p. 286, No. 71.

88. *Came from,* or *I came from* (*certain place or country*).—Finger pointed in the direction of place or country where the person came from. When hand in proper direction, finger pointed downward with a slight jerk; then the hand drawn back to the front of the body, and finger pointed down near feet. The raising and stretching of the arm much or little defined to some extent whether the place was distant or near; but, as several places and tribes were often located in the same general direction, the name of the place or tribe was often said, or the sign for the tribe given. When considered necessary, places were also differentiated by defining in signs the nature of the place, whether by a lake or a river, a falls, or in mountains, valley or plains.

89. *White man,* or *whites.*—Right hand raised to left side of brow, inclining slightly inward, palm down, fingers close together and somewhat extended; hand drawn across horizontally to right side of brow, as if making a cut. (The origin of the sign is unknown, but it is thought by the Indians to imitate the wearing of hats by the whites.)

90. *Think the whites are good.*—Same sign as preceding, then sign of "thinking," and then sign of "good."

91. *Think whites are no good.*—The same sign as preceding, only the "no good" sign made instead of sign for "good."

92. *Don't like whites.*—Sign for "whites," then sign of "think," then sign of "no." (The same sign seems to be used for "think" and "like," at least in some cases.)

TRIBAL NAMES IN THE SIGN LANGUAGE

93. *Coeur d'Alêne.*—The sign of "bow and arrow" and shooting horizontally. Sometimes the sign of direction of the Coeur d'Alêne country was also added. Sometimes the left hand, in making the sign for "bow," was held edge up, with the thumb pointing down, and fingers all close together, the arm held horizontally and arched. The arm was also sometimes moved from left to right. The meaning of the sign is "flat bow" (or "the people who use flat bows, shooting them horizontally"). Some of the Plains tribes used the simple signs of "bow and arrow" and "west" or "sunset" for the Coeur d'Alêne, meaning "Bow and arrow people of the west." This name is supposed to have been given them because at a time when all the other buffalo-hunting tribes had at least some guns the Coeur d'Alêne were still using bows and arrows. The terms "Flat bow" or "Wide bow" were applied to the Coeur d'Alêne in the sign language because of the universal use of flat bows by them, and because, of all tribes, they used the widest bows. The terms "Awl-heart," "Pointed-heart," etc., were not used by any Indians for the Coeur

d'Alêne in the sign language. Some of the traders, however, may have used signs with these meanings.

94. *Flathead* or *Salish proper.*—Right hand placed on the right side of the head slightly back of the temples, with fingers extending upward to top of head. Sometimes the hand was merely touched to the side of the head. Supposed to mean "pressed the side of the head" (hence "Flathead"), but the origin and true meaning of the sign are unknown.

95. *Pend d'Oreilles.*—With both hands sign of paddling, first on one side of the body and then on the other. This means "Paddlers" or "Canoe people." Sometimes the sign of "lake" (with reference to Flathead Lake) was added to the sign of "paddling," because at one time a large number of the tribe lived near Flathead Lake; i. e., "Lake paddlers" or "Canoe people of the Lake." The Pend d'Oreilles were called "Paddlers" or "Canoe people" because they used bark canoes, while the Flathead did not, and because they were the most eastern people of the region who used canoes. The terms "Ear drops," "Ear pendants," were never used for the Pend d'Oreilles by any Indians in the sign language.

96. *Kalispel.*—This tribe was called "Paddlers" or "Canoe men," just like the Pend d'Oreilles. When it was desired to differentiate them from the latter the sign of "river" was added; viz, "River paddlers" or "Canoe men of the river." They were so named because of their habitat on Pend d'Oreille River and because they were canoe people like the Pend d'Oreilles and used the same kind of bark canoes.

97. *Spokan.*—First the sign of "salmon" or "fish" was made, then the fingers were raised to the mouth and a motion of swallowing made. The sign means "Salmon eaters," or "People who eat salmon." The Spokan were so named because they were the only tribe of the Flathead group having salmon in their country, and they were the most eastern tribe of the region using salmon extensively as food.

98. *Colville* or *Chaudière.*—Sign of direction of location of country was made, then the sign of "falls" by pushing the hand down, fingers perpendicular, then the signs of "fish" or "salmon" and "catching" up with the hands. Sometimes the sign of "river" was made first of all. The meaning is "Salmon fishers at falls." The term has reference to Kettle Falls, the main salmon place of the Colville, and to the fact that the Colville caught more salmon than any other tribe of the region. The term "Kettle Indians" was not used for the Colville in the sign language by any of the Indians.

99. *Lake* or *Senijextee.*—The sign for "Lake trout" was made, or the sign for "fish," and then of "a spot of yellow." The meaning is "Lake-trout people," so named because it is said that comparatively

few good salmon reached their country, and the tribes depended for food on lake trout, which were abundant.

100. *Sanpoil, Okanagon.*—My informant was not quite sure of the signs for these tribes.

101. *Similkameen.*—The sign of "eagle" was made for this people; "Eagle people." Said to be so named because eagles were formerly very plentiful in the Similkameen country, and eagle-tail feathers were formerly exported from there.

102. *Thompson* or *Couteau.*—My informant thought the sign of "snow" was formerly made by some people for the Thompson; "Snow people." Why so named is quite unknown. It may be derived through folk etymology from the name of the tribe. They were also sometimes called "People of the big river to the northwest." The sign for "knife" was also made for them; "knife people," but this term was used chiefly by the fur traders. The river to the northwest is either the Thompson or Fraser River.

103. *Shuswap.*—My informant was not sure of the sign for the Shuswap, but a term sometimes used meant "People who live (or go down) in the valley on the other side of the high country to the north."

104. *Lillooet.*—My informant was not familiar with any sign for this tribe, but thought the sign for "ax" was probably applied to them because the Okanagon group of tribes call them "ax people."

105. *Wenatchi.*—Fists brought together in front of breast, thumbs adjoining, then each turned upward and backward as if breaking something. Said to mean "bent or nearly broken" or "bent or broken in the middle," but with reference to what is uncertain. The sign may be derived through folk etymology from the tribal name.

106. *Columbia, Moses Columbia,* or *Columbia Cayuse.*—Hands placed together, points of fingers and wrists almost touching; then right hand pushed hard along middle of left, as if pushing something through. Said to mean "wedged" or "pressed in," or "wedged or divided in the middle," but with reference to what is unknown. The sign may possibly be derived through folk etymology from the tribal name.

107. *Yakima, Klickitat.*—Both hands held over temples, fingers meeting at top of head. Often the hands are pressed down on the head. Means "pressed or flattened heads." Said to be so named because the Yakima formerly pressed the heads of all infants; and they were the nearest tribe to the Coeur d'Alêne having this custom.

108. *Paloos.*—The common sign for the Paloos was the same as for Yakima, but with the sign of "location" or "direction" added. There was another sign for the Paloos which my informant had forgotten.

109. *Nez Percé.*—Forefinger of right hand pointed across the nostrils or point of the nose. Sometimes the forefinger was simply held for a moment horizontally across in front of the nose. The meanings of the signs are "Pierced noses." They were so named because long ago nearly all the Nez Percé had their noses pierced, and they wore nose-pins of shell and bone to a greater extent than any other tribe.

110. *Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse.*—My informant said he did not know any signs for these tribes. Usually they were called by the same sign as the Nez Percé, with signs of location added to differentiate them.

111. *Chinook, Wasco.*—My informant said there was an old sign name for the Chinook and Wasco, both being called by the one name, but he had forgotten it.

112. *Coast Indians.*—First the sign for "water" or "drinking" was made; then a wry face was made, as if something bitter had been tasted. Sometimes the sign for "sunset" was added, or for "west beyond the mountains." The meaning is "bitter-water people."

113. *Shoshoni.*—The sign for "snake" (viz, "Snake people") was made for all the Shoshoni. Different tribes were differentiated by signs of location. The origin of the term is unknown. The Flathead are said to have used different signs for certain tribes of Shoshoni besides the general one of "snake."

114. *Kutenai.*—The sign of "robe," and then that for "deer," was made for the Kutenai, meaning "deer robes." They are said to have been so named because they used deer robes extensively in early times. There was a special or additional name occasionally used for the Lower Kutenai, but my informant was uncertain of what it was. The fur traders sometimes used the term "Flat bow" for the Lower Kutenai.

115. *Cree.*—Hand pushed down over nose, or the finger points drawn down over the nose, as if scratching it. Sometimes the two signs were combined. Said to mean "bloody noses" and "striped or scratched noses." The origin of the sign name is obscure. Some Coeur d'Alêne suggested that the name may have arisen from some of them painting their noses red or in stripes.

116. *Gros Ventres or Atsina.*—Two signs were used for this tribe. In one, the two forefingers were crossed near the outer joints, with points extending upward. This means "tent" or "tent poles." This is the oldest sign name for the tribe; but why they were so designated is unknown. Some think it was because they had inferior tents long ago. The other sign was made by bringing the hands together in front of the breast, palms inward, and points of all the fingers touching. The hands were then pushed forward and downward without being parted, making a curve in front of the belly.

This means "big bellies." The origin of this name is also unknown. In later days this sign name almost entirely superseded the former, and it was the only one used by the fur traders.

117. *Blackfoot.*—The hand put to the mouth, and from there upward and outward, then swept down to the right and drawn across the ankle, as if cutting it. The full meaning of the sign seems to be uncertain, but it has some connection with "mouth" and with "foot," or possibly "moccasin." It may mean "Blackfoot speaking." Another sign was made by pointing at the right foot, and then making the "color" sign opposite something black or dark. This means "black foot" or "black feet." The term was used as a general one for all the Blackfoot tribes, and as a special one for the Blackfoot proper. The first sign was used as a general term for the Blackfoot tribes and may refer to the Blackfoot language; but the Indians differ in opinion as to the exact meaning of the sign.

118. *Blood.*—The sign for "blood" was made for this tribe, and the signs of "blood" and "Blackfoot" combined; viz, "Blood Blackfoot."

119. *Piegan.*—The sign of "robe" and "small" (viz, "small robes") were made for the Piegan. Rarely the sign "Blackfoot" was added.

120. *Arapaho.*—The right index finger placed vertically alongside the right nostril. My informant thought this was at least one sign for the tribe, but he was not quite sure. Meaning unknown.

121. *Cheyenne.*—The same informant thought the common sign for the Cheyenne was "striped arrows," or "striped arrow shafts," or "feathers of arrows." The sign of "arrow" was made, and the sign of "bars" or "stripes" across the head of the arrow. Supposed to be so named because long ago they had stripes on their arrows different from stripes on arrows used by other tribes.

122. *Crow.*—The sign of "raven" or "crow," meaning "raven people" or "crow people." The origin of the name is unknown.

123. *River Crow.*—Sign of "man" and sign of "blue" (viz, "blue man"). Why so named is uncertain; thought to be because they may have used blue paint more extensively than other tribes.

124. *Sioux.*—The right hand held out flat in front, and then drawn from left to right across and opposite the throat. Means "cut-throats." The origin of this name is also unknown.

COUNTING, GREETING, SIGNALS

125. *Counting.*—In counting, the Coeur d'Alêne begin with "one" by putting the right index on the point of the little finger of the left hand, and continue to the thumb, which is "five"; then they reverse hands, and count beginning with the little finger of the right up to nine or ten. When the meaning of "ten" is to be conveyed, both

closed hands are placed alongside each other and shaken once. Two shakes means "twenty," three shakes "thirty," and so on.

126. *Greeting.*—As a sign of greeting and good will or respect, on meeting one another, people clasped or placed together their right hands, but did not shake the hands nor press nor squeeze them, as most whites do. Another common method of greeting, probably most common among women, was the making of what may be called the "good will" or "blessing" sign, which is the same as that used by the Thompson.[177] It was made with both hands, from the head or the shoulders, down the front of the body or front of the arms, to the legs. This was usually repeated two or three times, but sometimes done only once. Often it was begun with one hand on each shoulder of the person, and the hands continued to touch the person's body as they were drawn down. This sign was also made to a person as a greeting from a little distance off, as the whites do sometimes by lifting the hat or waving the hand instead of going up and shaking hands. The person making the sign generally uttered the word "*hwic*"[178] from one to four times. These forms of greeting, it is said, were the only ones used between the Coeur d'Alêne themselves and between them and Salish and some other tribes. With a number of Plains tribes and some Shoshoni a different form of greeting was used. The right arm was passed around the person's neck and the left hand placed on his right shoulder. The cheeks were then pressed or rubbed, and often a snapping noise was made with the mouth at the same time. In later days the handshake of the whites superseded all the old forms of greeting.

127. *Signals.*—Signs similar to those used by the Thompson and other tribes were used on vacating camps and on trails as notices to other parties. Signals and calls were also frequent and were much like those of the Thompson. When hunting in bushy and timbered parts of the country, especially when driving game, whistling and cries were used to regulate the pace of the hunters or drivers and to keep them in line. If the distance between the drivers was small, each man whistled in a low tone now and then as he walked along. If farther apart, each cried softly "Hô, hô!" Often when the men were in line, and ready to start, the hunting chief from his position gave a whistle or cry as a signal to start. Each man took it up in turn and at once started. Sometimes the hunting chief would signal by whistle or cry at almost regular intervals, the cry being passed along. In this way he knew the position of the drivers, how they

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[177] a, p. 287, No. 86.

[178] The Thompson almost invariably utter this word when making the sign. The word is also used to children when a person is well pleased with them or when they do something deserving of pity or praise. Men among the Thompson hardly ever use the expression, but it is commonly employed by women, especially old women.

were keeping in line, and how they were progressing. The hunters themselves, hearing the signals, knew whether one or more persons were too far ahead or too far back, and they went faster or slower accordingly. Sometimes by agreement the hunting chief gave a signal at short intervals, so that all the others could hear. As long as he continued, the line kept advancing. When he stopped, the line stopped. When he began again, it advanced again. When a person saw game but could not shoot it, he gave a loud whistle (but not shrill) as a signal to his companions that game had been seen and to look out for it. Besides whistling and the calling of "Hô!" dog and owl cries were used in hunting.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND FESTIVALS

Social Organization.—The social organization of the Coeur d'Alêne seems to have been almost the same as that which obtained among the Thompson.[381] There was no hereditary nobility, no class with special privileges. Clans, gentes, phratries, or societies did not exist. The tribe was divided into geographical divisions and bands in the same way as were the Thompson. In some cases the people of a band occupied but a single winter camp, while others occupied several small contiguous camps. However, as a rule, one of these was larger than the others, and was considered the main camp of the band. Each band had headquarters in a well-defined locality. The division consisted of a group of bands occupying a certain large area, defined, and separated more or less definitely from other bands of the tribe by natural boundaries, such as mountain ranges. Thus, for instance, the people of Coeur d'Alêne and St. Joe Rivers would naturally constitute separate divisions of the tribe, as their respective territories were situated quite apart, a wide intervening stretch of mountainous country separating the two. The band consisted of a greater or lesser number of families more or less closely related, being descendants of people who had made the territory their headquarters for a long time. Each family, no matter in what part of the tribal territory it might temporarily be living, belonged to some particular band, and therefore had a locality that was considered to be its home, and which it claimed as such. Each family generally wintered within the territory of the band to which it belonged, although it did not necessarily winter in the same spot every winter. Occasionally families wintered in the territories of other bands where they had friends or relatives. Some people claimed the right to winter in the territory of any one of two or three different bands, because they were descended from people of all these places. A family might winter at the father's or husband's village, or again at the mother's or wife's. People having close relatives in different bands sometimes wintered with one and sometimes with another, or spent half the winter in one and the other half in another. Often they wintered with one set of relatives and summered with another. With these many mixed families, it was largely habit that decided in which village they lived most of the time. As a rule, however, one band or village was preferred. In time it became their real headquarters; and their children usually continued to live in this place. There was considerable intercourse and relationship through intermarriage between all the bands of a division, but considerably less between bands of different divisions. However, as the permanently inhabited part of the Coeur d'Alêne country was not very extensive, and the territories of the several divisions and bands were connected by easy waterways, there was probably more intercourse and relationship between them than was the case in some other tribes. Neighboring bands had much intercourse with one another in the wintertime; less in the summer when there was much more traveling, and distant bands were often visited. Before the advent of the horse, the Coeur d'Alêne spent a good deal of time traveling, fishing, and hunting along the rivers and lakes of their country, although parties also went on distant hunting trips in the mountains during the fair season. At certain seasons considerable numbers of people congregated at famous camas and other root-digging grounds. They also went to the Spokan for salmon fishing, trading, and sports. These journeys were made on foot, for there were no water routes leading to these places. On the whole the people were fairly sedentary, and most of them lived the greater part of the year on their home grounds, although they had no permanent houses or villages, unless the long communal dance houses at the larger villages may be so called. Being a semisedentary people, and living in a country where wood, bark, and vegetal materials of many kinds abounded, the Coeur d'Alêne developed the arts of fishing, canoe making, and textile work in weaving of mats, bags, and baskets, probably to a greater degree than any of the neighboring tribes.

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[381] a, pp. 289-302.

With the introduction of the horse the social and economic life of the tribe became materially changed. In fact, it seems that it wrought a greater change in their customs and material culture than in any other tribe. Fishing and canoe travel were gradually forsaken for buffalo hunting and travel by horse. Since the forested country was not well adapted for horses, most of the tribe moved to the more open, grassy districts. This drew them away from the lakes, and in great measure from fishing, canoes, bark, and wood, materials which they were accustomed to use. They could not follow the old life on the water and in the forests, and at the same time keep horses. Besides, as raising and herding horses and buffalo hunting necessitated much travel, the people had no time for their former industries. Further-more, many of their utensils were unsuitable for the new style of life. Objects made of wood, bark, and basketry were either too bulky, cumbersome, or fragile; therefore they were largely dispensed with. Bags of skin, leather, and rawhide took the place of basketry and woven bags because they were better suited for travel by horse. Instead of the former small hunting parties, consisting of people of one band or part of a band, hunting now became largely a tribal business, and demanded a different organization. The easier method of making a living offered by buffalo hunting, as well as the pleasure and excitement of traveling and mingling with strangers, which it afforded, were great inducements. Once horses were plentiful, intercourse became easy and general between all members of the tribe, and buffalo hunting as a tribal affair could be engaged in. The old system of chiefs of bands and divisions became obsolete, and only tribal chiefs continued to be recognized. There were really no more bands or divisions. The change from a tribe consisting of many semisedentary bands with as many headquarters to a single, almost entirely nomadic community, with a single center, was in time almost completed. The old communal dance houses were abandoned and dancing was conducted entirely in the camp circles. An impetus was given to trading. While formerly trade was chiefly with the western tribes, now much trading was also done with those to the east. Commodities were exchanged more rapidly, and came from greater distances.

Again, in later years the Coeur d'Alêne, like other tribes, had to adapt themselves to another great change, brought about by the failure of buffalo hunting and the settlement of the country by the whites. This forced the tribe to become farmers and stock raisers.

Chiefs.—Chieftaincy was of exactly the same kind as that of the Thompson,[illegible] and not necessarily hereditary. Chiefs were elected, and everyone was eligible, whether a chief's son or not. Each band and village community, and also each large camp, had a chief. In places where the people of several bands congregated for root digging one of the band chiefs present was elected chief of all for the time being. If all were about equal in popularity, then the chief who had the largest following in camp was elected, or the senior chief was chosen. If no chief was present, some good man was elected as camp chief, and he continued to act until the camp broke up. Chiefs of bands were often called "small chiefs." On their election, if wealthy enough, they gave a feast and some presents to the people of the band, who thereafter were called their "children." Sons of former chiefs were often elected, but with equal frequency they were not. If too young when the chief died, or if deficient in chief-like qualities of goodness, liberality, wisdom, and honesty, they were

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[illegible] c, p. 289.

never chosen. As a rule, the best man in the band was appointed. People were ashamed if they had a chief much inferior to others, or if their chief was wicked or foolish. If a chief turned out to be bad or foolish, he was deposed, and another one elected. But very few chiefs were deposed, as care was generally taken to choose a good man; and most men, when they became chiefs, were careful of their conduct, and tried to live up to their position. From time to time most chiefs gave small feasts, and sometimes presents, to the members of their band. It seems that each division had a head chief. It is not quite clear whether he was a specially elected man or simply one of the band chiefs. It would seem, however, that the latter was the case. It would also seem that he generally belonged to a band which was considered the head band of the division, either because of numbers or because it was considered the original or parent band which occupied the traditional original headquarters, and from which the other bands of the division had sprung.[illegible] Of the three, or possibly four, chiefs of divisions, it seems that one was head chief of the tribe. As formerly the Coeur d'Alêne City chief was generally, if not always, head chief of the tribe, this may indicate that this district is the original center of the tribe. When they began to give up the old style of life for that of buffalo hunting, and to live as a single community, the system of "small chiefs" or band chiefs passed away and chiefs of divisions only were recognized. At one time there were three of these, but possibly at one period there were four. Later, with reduction in numbers caused by epidemics, and the beginning of reservation life it seems that the number of chiefs was reduced to two—a head chief and a subchief. When the head chief died the subchief became head chief and another man was elected from the tribe to fill his place. It is said that about 1820 there were three recognized chiefs of the tribe, the head chief *Stíla''am*, with headquarters at Coeur d'Alêne City; *Xwistcemi''tsa* ("walking robe"), with headquarters at Mission; *Ciltciltcū'sqat* ("revolving sky or cloud"), chief of St. Joe division, who died about 1848. When *Stíla''am* died, André *Sältis* (Seltis) became head chief. He was no direct descendant of *Stíla''am*, but was elected on account of his wealth and intelligence.[illegible] He was chief of the tribe in 1858 during the Spokan war with the whites, in which he took part, and in 1877 during the Nez Percé war. He died in 1902. At this time Pete *Wa'iyil'lcu'* (called "Wild Shoe" by the whites—a corruption of his

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[illegible] Information of this kind sometimes leads to a knowledge of the original site of the people as a tribe, and shows the manner in which they spread into the surrounding country, gradually enlarging their boundaries by offshoots. There are strong traces of this to be found among the Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.

[illegible] Information furnished by Gladys A. Reichard.

Indian name) was second chief, and he became head chief. He died in 1907. Pete *Tci'yεrpa'* (full name *Tci'yεrpa'sqat*, "rolling on the clouds") was elected second chief when *Wa'iyt'lcu'* became head chief; and he became head chief on the latter's death, and is head chief now. Some other former head chiefs of the tribe were Pete or Pierre *T'enl'ewsmi'ltcεn* (?) (the name seems to have some connection with "horns" or "head"), who was son of a former band chief of the St. Joe division; *Anastεmaipo'* (?) (full name *Tεmpipo'sεmεn*, "no heart"), who a long time ago was a chief of the Coeur d'Alêne River division; *Sqεnεnε'lqo* or *pεllipo'sεmεn* ("deep thinker," literally "many hearts"), another chief of olden times. The last name is probably a Spokan form. There were no female chiefs, and women had no direct voice in the election of chiefs. However, the influence of some women was powerful in moulding public opinion. A woman who had chief-like qualities, who was good, intelligent, sagacious, and liberal, was called *sq'o'mε'lt*. Such women were highly respected, and their opinions treated with consideration. Some of them occasionally made speeches before the people and chiefs.

COUNCILS.—Each band chief had a large stone pipe which was the "band" pipe, and the chiefs of divisions had "chief's pipes." The head chief of the tribe had the "tribal" pipe. All important matters concerning the welfare of the band were arranged at councils or meetings of the elders and heads of families, presided over by the chief. In smoking ceremonials and in making agreements, bargains or treaties, if the band pipe was smoked, it was only binding on the band to whom the pipe belonged. When the tribal pipe was smoked, the contract made was binding on the whole tribe, and therefore this pipe was smoked in ratifying agreements and making important treaties with strangers and enemies. All chiefs used criers, who were generally elderly men and good speakers. When the chief wanted to assemble the people or talk with them on any matter he sent out the crier to inform the people that a general meeting would be held on the morrow. The crier went out in the middle of the camp circle and gave the information in a loud voice, so that all might hear. If some of the lodges were too far away or were scattered, he went on foot or on horseback, stopping in front of each lodge door, and gave the notice. Councils, meetings, and all public functions were held in the communal long house or dance house, maintained at all large villages of bands, at all times when the majority of the people were at home. During fine weather or when in camp, meetings were held in the open air or under a temporary shelter erected for the purpose. Sometimes they were held in the chief's house or in the largest tent. After the old band and village system was broken up often a large skin tent was erected especially as a meeting and dance lodge; or a circular lodge of poles, open on the sides and roofed with brush, bark, or mats, was used. These were erected in the middle of the camp circle. The chief's lodge still continued to be used occasionally for small meetings. It seems that the chief's lodge occupied no particular position in regard to other lodges in a camp. In the ancient villages doors of lodges were in any direction most convenient for access to water and for shelter from winds. Thus doors generally faced the streams. In temporary camps doors faced either inward (if the lodges were in a circle), or to the east if there was no circle. There were some exceptions, however, especially in favor of a southerly direction.

Camp Circle.—In camping on the plains a large camp circle was formed, and at night the horses were kept inside. This was often necessary as a precaution against horse stealing. When camped on friendly ground in conjunction with allied tribes, each tribe might camp in a circle of its own, contiguous to the others, but when camped on unfriendly ground, where there was considerable chance of being attacked, all camped in one circle. If there were two tribes about equal in numbers, each occupied half the circle. The lodges were never mixed. It seems that sometimes positions of tribes in a camp circle were taken according to the geographical position of their homes. For instance, when they camped with Kalispel, the latter took the north side of the circle, and the Coeur d'Alêne the south. When camped with Nez Percé, the latter took the south side and the Coeur d'Alêne the north. Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan would take the west side; and Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead the east. Oratory was highly developed, as among all the neighboring tribes.

Tribal Regulations.—It seems that there were seldom any attempts at coercion on the part of the chiefs; and they did not interfere in purely personal matters, except in an advisory way. There was no real police. The influence and advice of the chiefs and public opinion concerning matters of procedure and ethics were sufficient to keep order. The orders of the chiefs, especially if the result of discussion and agreement at a council held beforehand, were received with great consideration, and hardly ever combated. Sometimes a number of young men or others were chosen to carry out certain orders, or some elderly men were appointed to see that they were carried out. These men, it seems, were appointed only for special occasions. Customs regarding murder, theft, adultery, and rape were the same as those which obtained among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[illegible]

War Chiefs.—As already noted, all hunting and war parties had chiefs. Hunting chiefs were elected by hunting parties the first night in camp, or the night before hunting began. Often a man was recognized from the start as hunting chief. The most experienced hunter was chosen. His authority lasted only during the hunt.

[illegible] *b*, pp. 244, 245.

War chiefs were elected in like manner, and continued in authority to the end of an expedition; but there were also many permanent war chiefs, who were elected as war chiefs of bands and divisions. They were men who had warlike qualities, experience, and had distinguished themselves in war. At all times they received respect, being treated like other chiefs; but they had no authority excepting in war time. In some cases men who were war chiefs were afterwards chosen to be "peace" chiefs or chiefs of bands. The band chief exhorted the people as to conduct, morals, and industry and regulated in large measure the procuring of the food supply of his band. He was also leader in many ceremonies, and, on the whole, acted as an advisor and teacher of the people, to whom he was supposed to give a good example at all times. He also in large measure conducted the business between the band and strangers, and he often had to act as host to foreign visitors. Band chiefs also kept count of the days, moons, and years by cutting notches in sticks.

COMPANIES.—As already stated, the introduction of the horse and the adoption of buffalo hunting led the people away from their old habitat and ways of living and forced on them a changed tribal organization. The bands seem to have become completely merged in the tribe. The tribe could not be on the move for about nine months of the year, traveling long distances and hunting buffalo in a country where they were subject to attack at any time, without being fairly well organized for traveling, camping, hunting, and protection. Thus it came about that the system of chiefs and many of the former regulations of the tribe were changed to suit the new conditions or environment. The chiefs and councils obtained more power, in which all the people acquiesced. At the same time it seems that force was not employed much more than under the earlier system. The men of the tribe became divided in companies, each one of which had special duties to attend to. It seems that certain rules came into vogue in traveling—the women and families and pack animals, on the whole, occupying the center, groups of warriors traveling in the front, rear, and on the borders. Scouts were still farther off, but I did not obtain full information regarding the system. It seems that a considerable body of warriors rode just in front of the main body of the people, many of the leading and elderly men among them. Men who knew the country best acted as guides and rode well in front, but some young men or scouts were with them or preceded them.

Young men, most of them unmarried, were divided into two or three companies. Some of them rode near the chief and occasionally acted as his messengers. One group of young men acted as scouts; another acted as horse guards and took the horses in charge. They saw to their pasturing, took them out, and brought them in again. A group of older (?) men assisted in the camping, and it seems that there were groups having particular duties in connection with buffalo hunting, war, or defense. The men in each group were generally those best adapted by age or experience to do the work assigned, and men naturally fell into one group or the other. It was not obligatory to be in any particular company, and a man might join one group or another as he wished. However, men were sometimes assigned to one group or another by the chiefs or asked to perform certain services. It seems that no one thought of refusing; and young men especially were eager to be in the group of scouts or horse guards, as the case might be. They considered it an honor to do the chief's bidding and perform important service, especially where there was danger. It seems that most, if not all, companies had captains who were old, experienced men. Most of the older men had little to do in traveling, except to look after their personal belongings and families and to help in making their own camp. Young men drove the pack animals. The number of men in the companies varied. If there was a shortage in any one, or if more men were required for an emergency, the chiefs regulated it. I obtained an understanding of the system only in a very general way, and received very few details. It seems that there was also a soldier or warrior company of middle-aged men. This company contained the bravest and most reliable men in the tribe. The defense of the camp was intrusted to them. As far as I could learn, none of these groups had any functions like those of the military societies of the plains. Men were graded to some extent, however, according to their deeds of valor. Only those who had done certain deeds were supposed to wear eagle feathers in certain ways and carry certain ornaments, bands, and ceremonial or symbolic objects. This custom, being well developed among the Shoshoni, Flathead, and Kutenai, may possibly have been copied from them, if something similar was not already in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne before they began to go to the plains. Among these men of valor was a small company who had counted coup on an armed enemy in the thickest of battle, and had returned unscathed. They wore certain feathers and other ornaments. They were believed to be invulnerable, and were expected to act as leaders in battle. They were middle-aged or elderly men. However, it seems that this class had existed under the old system also, and the members were known as those who required no protection; therefore they used no armor.

It seems that a fairly perfect system of cries, whistles, and other signals was evolved whereby people were at once advised of any important happening. There were dog cries, crow cries, owl cries, and certain whistles or signals when strangers were sighted, or when buffalo were seen. When these calls were heard, the chiefs and the men of each company at once knew what to do, and acted accordingly. There was thus little confusion among the people.

SLAVERY.—Slaves were of two kinds—captives made in war and those purchased from other tribes. The latter were all procured in trade from western tribes, chiefly the Spokan, and none of them were of interior Salish origin. It is said that most of them were boys, girls, and young women of the Snake, Ute, and Paiute. Many of them were probably captives made in war by Nez Percé, Cayuse, Wallawalla, and other tribes to the south, who at one time were almost constantly at war with the Shoshonean tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. None of these slaves were repatriated, and very seldom were they resold. They became members of the tribe and lost their own language. A very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest, but they were generally bought back through the Spokan or Paloos, or sometimes directly from Coeur d'Alêne parties who went to the intertribal dances at the mouth of the Snake. Captives were generally girls and young women of non-Salish tribes with whom they were at war. As a rule, they were sold back to their friends or exchanged at the end of the war. If not, they were usually later given their liberty and in most cases they returned to their own country. It is said that the Coeur d'Alêne did not favor making captives and generally killed all their enemies or allowed those to escape whom they did not want to kill. Shoshonean slaves never tried to escape, but slaves and captives of other tribes sometimes ran away. Slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been known to show as much grief and weep as much over him as if he had been one of his own children. When a slave woman bore children to her master she became the same as a free member of the tribe; and no one watched her or tried to retain her in captivity. When her children grew up they were treated with as much respect as other children and were never openly called "slave children." Some of them became capable men, and they would resent being treated differently from others. Until they came to be considered members of the tribe, the hair of slaves was kept short.

There are several cases remembered of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but in nearly all cases they eventually returned to their tribe. In one case, very long ago, a woman never came back. She was treated well and became a member of the Pend d'Oreilles tribe. At a later date two women enslaved by the Pend d'Oreilles escaped after a time. A man took pity on them, and hid some food, moccasins, and thread and awl, telling them where they would find them. Then at night he ferried them across the river and gave them directions how to go. They hid in the daytime and walked at night, always avoiding trails. The people searched for them one day, and then gave it up. They reached home in safety.

Only a very few of the Coeur d'Alêne kept slaves, and this long ago. After the tribe began buffalo hunting they rarely bought any slaves and very rarely took any captives in war. Slaves were of little value to a people who were not fairly sedentary, and they could not easily be kept captive.

Personal Names.—I did not collect many data on names. As among the Thompson, names fell into several classes. Names of males and females were distinct.

One class of names consisted of dream names, often obtained directly from the guardian spirit at puberty, or received at a later age in dreams. Other dream names were taken from incidents of dreams. These names were believed to be connected in some way with the guardian of the individual. Some men took the name of their guardian for a personal name.

The second class of names may be designated as nicknames. Some were derived from physical peculiarities of the individual, or from incidents in his career.

Names of these two classes originated with the individual himself, and could become hereditary by being passed on to his descendants. Often, however, they died out with the person who acquired them, and whose property they actually were.

The third class of names were inherited. These were the property of families and had passed down in them for generations. In many cases their origin is unknown. Many of them are difficult to translate because the original forms and pronunciations had become altered, were archaic, or were derived from languages of other tribes. A peculiarity in this class of names was that most of them had regular name suffixes, not more than six or seven in number, whereas most other names did not have these suffixes. Nevertheless, it seems that many of them originated in just the same way as other names.

Among the Coeur d'Alêne names with these regular suffixes are not as common as among the Thompson; but probably at one time they were more frequent. There seems to have been a tendency for several generations back to discard them and to adopt striking names derived from dreams and exploits, which were more high-sounding and at the same time easy to translate and explain. Some of the Coeur d'Alêne names, with name suffixes analogous to those of the Thompson, are at first hard to recognize because of the tendency to clip off the ends of many long words. This tendency is common to the Flathead and all tribes of that group, as well as to the more eastern Kutenai and the Coeur d'Alêne. For examples see *Hinwazane'*

Waxəme' for *Htəməxənt'lst* (p. 129), and names of chiefs (pp. 153, 154), where *-posəmən* is shortened to *-po.* and *-a'sqɑt* to *-a.* It seems that among the Coeur d'Alêne there occur some Spokan forms of names acquired through intermarriage.

I noticed the following suffixes in old hereditary names which are the same as those used by the Thompson.[illegible]

1. *-ítsa* ("robe," "blanket," "skin"), in both men's and women's names, as among the Thompson, most common among men. (Thompson forms, *-ítsa*, *-ìtsa*.)

2. *-qain* ("head," "top," "eminence"), in men's names. (Thompson forms, *-qain*, *-qən*.)

3. *-alst*, *-ilst*, *-əst* ("stone"), in men's names (often shortened to *-t*). (Thompson forms, *-ɛ'llst*, *-əst*.)

4. *-a'sqɑt*, *-sqɑt* ("cloud," "sky," "day"), in men's names (often shortened to *-a*). (Thompson forms, *-ɛ'skɑt*, *-a'sqɑt*.)

5. *-kwa* ("water"), in women's names. (Thompson forms, *-kəx*, *-kō*, *-a'tko*.)

I did not find the suffix *-inək* ("bow," "belly," "rounded"), common in women's names of the Thompson, but it may occur. Of the nine chiefs' names mentioned on pages 153 and 154, one has the suffix *-i'tsa* and two the suffix *-a'sqɑt*. The name *Xwtstcəmi'tsa* (translated "walking robe") occurs in slightly different forms among the Okanagon and Thompson. A name similar to *Cilcilkcō'sqɑt* also occurs in all these tribes. The names *Təmpipo'səmən* and *Xwəlitpo'səmən* are used by the Okanagon and Spokan as well as the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems quite possible that certain names may have originated independently in these different Salish tribes; but most Indians think that each hereditary name, especially those with the name suffixes, is of but one origin, having originated in one tribe or another, and been introduced into other tribes by intermarriage. Therefore they say that persons who bear the same name in two tribes have inherited it from a common ancestor, and that they must be related, however remotely. There was hardly any stealing of names, and only rarely were names exchanged, bestowed, or sold; and when they were, they were usually lately adopted dream names or nicknames belonging to the individual, and not names which had already become hereditary and belonged to families.

Some other Coeur d'Alêne men's names are *Silwa*, *Təmlica*(*ic*). ("no hand"), *Tcəle'məlstən* ("runs on a horn"), *Tcu'təmləmstən* ("buffalo-bull mountain"; this name occurs among the Thompson, and has probably been derived from the south), *Loq'x'tútc'əm* ("lying in the brush"), *Tpopə'wəs* ("painted stomach"), *Tsitsilɛ'tsa* ("pierced [with arrows] robe [or skin]"; slight variations of this name are found among the Okanagon and Thompson), *Nics'ɛ-lqe'in*(*əst*) ("first shot" or "first daylight"; a name similar to this occurs among the Thompson).

[illegible] *a*, p. 291.

Some women's names are *Sai''mōsa*, *Yaromi'*, *Siyō''s*, *Xwa'm-emma'*, *Xaqae'tcen* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson), *Stenōlemenna'*, *Wilswōlsma'*, *Siyagta'*, *Si''pal*, *Tcisemtā'l*, *Xwoxotsti'*, *Tc'ā'āne* (a similar name occurs among the Thompson and Shuswap), *Daxwal al da'renc* ("moon fell"), *Qaxpi'(tea)* ("turned-up robe or blanket"). (A Spences Bridge woman has this name, and it also occurs among the Okanagon.) Women's names are as a rule harder to translate than men's.

It is said that parents sometimes received names in dreams which they were told to give to their children.

Descent was reckoned in both the male and female lines, and children received names from both sides of the family. Slaves took Coeur d'Alêne names given them by their masters and these names became the property of their descendants. Horses and dogs were named in the same manner as among the Thompson.[287] Most of their names were nicknames.

Property.—The institutions of the tribe were on the whole paternal and almost the same as those of the Thompson.[288] Male relatives took precedence in the inheritance of property. In the family the male elders ruled, although the women had the right to advise and express their opinion in almost all matters, and often their advice was asked. The father and elder male relatives generally instructed the boys; and the mother and elder female relatives the girls. The father, grandfather, or uncles, or all of them, frequently admonished and lectured the children and members of the family on morals or ethics and behavior, and encouraged the children to be industrious and to persevere in obtaining knowledge and powerful guardian spirits. They also advised them to perfect their physical and mental qualities, so that the boys might become noted warriors, hunters, chiefs, or shamans; and that the girls might become women of good quality and thus obtain the best husbands.

The woman generally followed her husband and lived among his people. Levirate prevailed, as in other Salish tribes. A woman's effects were distinct from those of her husband's, and each was the absolute owner of his or her own personal property. The husband and wife often gave presents to each other and to their children. Personal property consisted of tools, weapons, clothes, bedding, lodges, horses, dogs, baskets, mats, etc. Food was family property, and in charge of the head woman of the house. Lodges were often family property, especially skin lodges, but many of them belonged to the women. Mat lodges generally belonged to the women, as men had nothing to do with the gathering of the materials and the making of them. In the case of skin lodges, the man provided the hides, but only in this way had any claim. If the husband bought a ready-made skin lodge, as was sometimes the case, it belonged entirely to him. When several families lived together the food for immediate use was pooled, each woman replenishing the general supply from her stores or caches. Meat obtained by the men of the lodge was pooled in the same way, or it was handed over to the women.

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[287] a, p. 292.

[288] a, pp. 293, 294.

Large game, such as deer, were cut up in the same way as among the Thompson.[illegible] Hunting parties generally divided the game in the following manner: The skin, brisket, and one side piece of the animal belonged to the man who had killed it. The other side piece went to the hunting chief. The rest of the carcass was the common property of the hunting party, and was divided equally among all the hunters by the chief. In small hunting parties of friends the division was about equal. A man hunting alone owned the whole animal, but he often gave part of it to his neighbors or friends. In buffalo hunting parties, as a rule, each hunter owned all he killed, and he took as many of the skins and as much of the meat as he wanted or could handle. Whatever was left was the property of whoever wanted it, and all could help themselves without restriction. When only a few buffalo were killed, and the people were short of food, the meat was divided by the chief like other game.

Land was communal or tribal, and the same applied to rivers and lakes. The whole country was considered the property and food preserve of the tribe. However, parts of the country in proximity to villages of bands were seldom used by outsiders, for they depended on this territory for the gathering of roots and berries, and for everyday fishing and hunting. Besides, these grounds were under the control of the band chief. Nevertheless the more distant parts of each band territory were considered tribal, and not band territory; and even the "home ground" of each band was free for any member of the tribe to use, as long as the chief of the band was notified and his regulations were followed. Every part of the tribal territory was free to all members of the tribe for travel and later on for pasture, and also for gathering of food, hunting and fishing, when traveling from point to point.

Each band chief was in charge of the "home territory" of the band, and regulated the gathering of roots and berries therein. As each important kind of fruit ripened, he sent persons from time to time to inspect the crop at different places. When on any ground a sufficient quantity of berries was ripe, he declared the ground open for berrying, and the women went in companies and gathered the crop. This gave all the women an equal chance, and prevented jealousies, quarrels, and the picking of immature berries. The same regulations governed the digging of camas and all important roots. Some

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[illegible] a, p. 248.

of the large camas and berry grounds distant from the settlements of any band were in charge of chiefs of divisions and were opened by them at the proper time for digging or picking. These places were free to all members of the tribe, and people from all bands resorted thither. All, however, had to obey the orders of the divisional chief, or, if he were not present, of the camp chief. It seems that there were no restrictons regarding times for fishing and hunting, for these matters regulated themselves by the seasons, the weather, and the habits of the different kinds of game and fish. It seems that there was no private or family property in fishing places, eagle cliffs, etc., and it is very doubtful if deer fences were privately owned. In some cases these appear to have been band property.

Skins and meat of trapped animals, when the traps or snares were private belongings and the trapper was unassisted, belonged to the man who trapped them.

As mentioned already, the long lodges used as meetinghouses, dance houses, and guest houses, were the property of bands, and were erected and maintained by their common labor.

The division of labor between the sexes appears to have been just the same as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[39]

FESTIVALS.—Feasts and ceremonies at which presents were given were of three kinds. In a simple feast, one family or the members of one lodge invited their immediate neighbors to a small feast, which generally lasted one evening or an afternoon and night. As a rule, no presents were given. Often, at a later date, one of the invited families gave a similar feast to the neighbors, the former hosts being invited. Several of these suppers might be given by families in turn in a single locality during the winter. Story telling and a few games were the chief amusements at these feasts, and rarely singing and dancing.

Another kind of feast was on a large scale, and in some localities took place once during the winter. The band chief gave this feast to the members of his band, if he felt he had an abundance of food and wanted to have a social time. A few members of neighboring bands often attended. The festival generally lasted a day and a night, and occasionally part or all of a second day and night. The people played games, made speeches, and told stories. Sometimes dancing, singing, and exhibitions took place. One or more persons dressed up and acted parts of a narrative or story that was told, or they simply dressed up to cause amusement, especially to the children, impersonating animals and people, or acting like clowns. Occasionally they sang comic songs. During the festival the chief might give a number of small presents to male and female members of his band, a joke often being made with each present. Sometimes in return one of the leading families of the band would invite the chief to a feast at a date a little later, and whoever desired might come. Sometimes other members of the band assisted the head of this family with presents of food for the feast. No return was made, however, of the chief's presents.

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[39] a, pp. 295, 296; b, p. 246.

The third festival of this kind was something like the "potlatch" of the Thompson,[381] and was on a larger scale than the other festivals mentioned. A man, a family, or a community singled out another man, family, or community, and invited them to a feast, which lasted from one to three or four days and nights. Speeches, singing, dancing, and games took place at intervals. The host or hosts gave presents of skins, horses, and the like to the guests. Generally the following year the people who had been guests returned the compliment by inviting their former hosts to a feast of the same duration, and returned gifts to them of a value about equal to what they had received.

A feast of first fruits was held, and will be described later (p. 185).

Feasting also took place at burials, and on a smaller scale at births. Many people, however, never gave feasts at births.

Dancing was much in vogue, and most public dances were accompanied by more or less feasting and playing of games. Dances and other customs, partly religious and partly social, will be described in the chapter on "Religion."

Musical Instruments.—As an aid to singing at feasts and dances several kinds of instruments were in use. Of these, the drum was most important. All the old-style drums were circular and had skin on one side only. They generally had sides about 10 cm. deep and were about 50 cm. in diameter. Many were painted with designs, either geometric or realistic, or a combination of both.[382] Drumsticks consisted of a stick with the head wrapped in skin, or a stick with the end padded with deer's hair, inclosed in skin.[383] Drums and drumsticks were sometimes ornamented with deer hoofs and with feathers.

Rattles were used which consisted of a bunch of deer hoofs attached to the end of a wooden handle.[384] Others made of strings of deer hoofs were also attached to the legs of dancers. Round and elongated rattles, consisting of pebbles inclosed in rawhide [385] and rarely of wood(?), were also used to some extent, and held in the hands when dancing.

Notched sticks or rasps, over the notches of which other sticks were rubbed, were in common use.[386] Time beaters of wood were also in common use. Some were simple sticks, while others were carved and ornamented.

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[381] a, pp. 297–300.

[382] See Thompson, a, p. 285, fig. 215 a.

[383] See Thompson, a, p. 285, fig. 215 b.

[384] See Nez Percé b, p. 220.

Long flutes, or flageolets, were made of elder, and sometimes of other hardwoods, and appear to have been similar to those in use among the Thompson, Okanagon, and Nez Percé.[illegible] They generally had six holes. The air passage near the mouth was partly stopped with a small ball made of pitch and deer's grease. They were suspended from a leather string worn around the neck. Often the string was richly embroidered and ornamented. Young men used them for serenading girls at night, but they were also used for giving signals on horse-stealing raids. Another kind of flute was shorter, and made of the wing and leg bones of large birds, such as geese, swans, or cranes. It had from three to six holes and was used for calls or signals, and imitations of cries of birds.[illegible] It was also used by young men and young women for serenading. Another bone whistle was quite short and had no holes. It was used simply for signaling. It seems some other kinds of bone and bark whistles were used long ago; but I obtained no particulars.

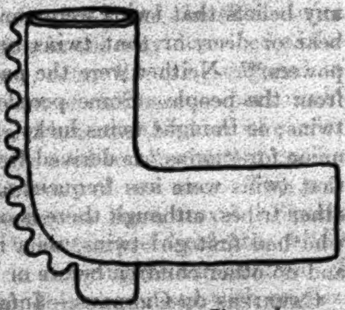
FIGURE 14.—Pipe

PIPES.—Smoking was almost universal among men, but long ago women rarely smoked. Smoking formed a part of all important ceremonies at meetings, some ceremonies being opened and closed with smoking. Pipes were made of steatite, which was plentiful in the Coeur d'Alêne country. The common colors were black, gray, and brown. Brown steatite was exported to other tribes in whose countries it was rare. Catlinite and pipes of the same material were procured from the Flathead and other tribes to the east. The western tribes often traded green soapstone, and pipes made of the same, to the Plains tribes for red soapstone and pipes made of it. The ceremonial pipes of the Coeur d'Alêne, called "chief's pipes" and "peace pipes," were large, and in later days were nearly all made of catlinite. Formerly most of them were of brown soapstone. Long ago the tubular pipe was common and continued to be used until after the arrival of the fur traders. Pipes of the elbow type, however, were in use before the fur traders came, and before the tribe began to go to the plains. In later days this type of pipe entirely superseded the tubular pipe. Some of the pipes were ornamented with a serrated flange. (Fig. 14.) It seems that pipes with simple bowls without shanks were also used to some extent, including those of disk shape. Stems of pipes were of wood. The smaller ones were generally round and the larger ones flat. Stems were orna-

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[illegible] See Nez Percé, *b*, p. 231.

[illegible] See Thompson, *a*, p. 313, fig. 284 *a*.

mented to a considerable extent with incised designs, painting and wrappings of quills. The tobacco used was wild tobacco procured from the neighboring tribes. Kinnikinnick, consisting of bearberry leaves and red willow bark, was mixed with tobacco in smoking by most people but not by all.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

TWINS.—I did not receive full information regarding birth and childhood. Old women acted as midwives. Some women, for a short time before childbirth, lived in the menstrual lodge. There were probably some restrictions on pregnant women long ago, especially as to what they should eat and touch; but it seems that after the tribe began to hunt buffalo most of the old customs gradually broke down and little is now known about them. My informants claimed that they had never heard of any twin ceremonies in the tribes, or of any beliefs that twins were connected by dreams of the mother with bear or deer, or that twins had any particular guardian spirits or powers.[387] Neither were the parents of twins compelled to live apart from the people. Some people considered a family lucky that had twins; or thought twins lucky, and that was all. The Coeur d'Alêne name for "twins" is derived from the numeral "two." It is thought that twins were less frequent among the Coeur d'Alêne than among other tribes, although there is one notable case on record of a woman who had first girl twins, then boy twins, and then girl twins again, and no other children before or after.

CARRIERS OR CRADLES.—Infants were put in a bark carrier. Most of these were made of birch bark. In shape they were like the Thompson birch-bark carrier,[388] only much higher at the head. The depth of the carrier at the head rendered the use of hoops for holding up the cradle cover unnecessary, and none were used. Bedding consisted of fine rotten wood (like sawdust), which was gathered, dried, and worked up fine. This was renewed as often as required. A piece of soft fur was put under the baby's head, shoulders, and back. A soft robe of fur formed the covering, and the baby was strapped in by flaps with lacing, which passed over the covering. An outside covering placed loosely over the carrier was used when abroad to protect the infant from wind and weather. When the baby was from two to three months old the bark carrier was discarded and replaced by a cradle board. These, at least for many years back, have been all of the same type as those used by the Spokan, Pend d'Oreilles, and Nez Percé.[389] About one-third of the board was beaded and extended above the infant's head. In earlier times cradle boards were much lower or shorter than those of the present day, and some of them were provided with hoops.

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[387] See Thompson, c, pp. 310, 311; Shuswap, c, pp. 586, 587; Lillooet, k, p. 263.

[388] a, p. 306, fig. 280.

[389] See Nez Percé, b, pp. 225, 226.

The navel-string pouch and strings of beads and other ornaments were often attached to the carrier, especially at the head. Hammocks were often used for babies in the lodges. They were made of skin and suspended on two ropes passing through hollow seams. Cross sticks were placed between the ropes near the head and foot to keep the ropes sufficiently apart. When the baby became older and began to walk the board carrier was discarded and a carrying bag or skin carrier was used when the weather was mild. These carriers were similar to those used by the Thompson,[200] and the child's head, arms, and legs protruded. In cold weather the same carrier was used, but the mother folded the baby in the robe she wore. More often, however, the carrier was not used at all in very cold weather, the mother preferring to fasten the babies on her back in the folds of the robe only. The bark carrier, the board carrier, and the skin carrier or baby bags have all been used together in the way described as far back as tradition goes. In later times, after the tribe engaged in buffalo hunting, the bark carrier went out of use, because bark could not always be obtained when wanted and because this kind of carrier was usually too fragile. Baby bags were used to some extent until a much later date, but finally they went out of use also. This was probably because they were not necessary in horse travel. Finally board carriers of the high type which better protected the child's head, and the robe alone, were used in carrying young children. I did not learn definitely whether any conduits were used with cradles. The Nez Percé are said long ago to have used bark carriers like those of the Coeur d'Alêne for infants.

HEAD DEFORMATION.—During the life of the child on the board carrier (generally from two or three months old to about a year) its head was fastened down with a pad of stiff skin attached by means of strings. The pad rested on the forehead. It was tightened when the child slept and slackened when it awoke. Male and female children were treated alike, and this practice was formerly universal in the tribe. It is said, however, that the intention was not to flatten the head but merely to keep the child's head in place and prevent its wiggling and thus hurting it, especially when the mother was carrying it. The strings were never pulled tighter than was necessary to accomplish this object. Some claim that the pad was tightened only a very little, or not used at all, when the baby was on the board in the lodge; but when the mother was traveling with the baby awake the pad was tightened a little; and when the baby slept, if she was still traveling, it was tightened more. The use of these pads, it is thought by some of the Indians, caused a slight flattening of the head behind, while other Indians consider that the shape of the head was not altered by them, excepting perhaps a very little in exceptional cases, probably when mothers used the pads in a careless manner. It is said that long ago the Nez Percé also used pads like those of the Coeur d'Alêne for holding the heads of infants steady; but whereas the Coeur d'Alêne never tightened these pads more than was necessary, many of the Nez Percé tightened them intentionally to flatten the heads of infants. Infants' heads were thus flattened intentionally by many families of all the Shahaptian tribes, the pad-strings being pulled very tight. The custom of fostering children was fairly common.

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[200] Ottawa Mus., Thompson specimens 147, 149, 150, 151.

Whipping Ordeal.—It is said that a long time ago, when all the Indians were living in the ancient way, there was a whipping ordeal each winter, through which nearly all the children and young people had to pass. In many places it was held several times during the winter. This ordeal was thought to make the children hardy and good. It seems to have been the same kind of whipping ordeal as was practiced by the Thompson [illegible] until recently.

Puberty.—There were a number of ceremonies similar to those of the Thompson at the time of attaining of puberty of both sexes. They formed part of a course of training undergone at this time of life by adolescents, that they might become healthy, strong, industrious, and capable men and women. Most of these ceremonies, especially those of girls, have not been practiced for so long that very little of them is remembered now. When the Coeur d'Alêne turned buffalo hunters most of them dropped out of use. It appears, however, that they were similar in extent and character to the ceremonies practiced by the Thompson. Possibly there were not quite as many restrictions, and the Coeur d'Alêne resembled in this respect, perhaps, the Shuswap and Okanagon. However, according to Coeur d'Alêne informants, tradition says that there were a great many, although none of them could tell much about them. Girls, on attaining the age of puberty, lived apart in small tents made of brush and mats, where they were attended and instructed by their mother, aunt, or grandmother. Their hair was done up in a knot near each ear; and they wore scratchers and combs on a string around the neck. During the training period, which lasted several months, they had to practice various kinds of work to make themselves efficient, and to follow certain customs to insure for themselves good luck in after years. They had to bathe and sweat to make their bodies clean and strong.

Boys at puberty had their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head. The parents generally arranged their children's hair during their training period, as the children were not supposed to touch the hair. The reason given for the tying of the hair in knots by both sexes at this period was to assure its growth, so that the hair would

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[illegible] a, pp. 309, 310.

be thick and long in after years. The period of training for boys was longer than that for girls, and appears to have been conducted in the same manner as among the Thompson and Nez Percé.[189] The importance to boys of gaining a guardian spirit was much greater than to girls; and it seems that training was always continued by boys until this object was attained. All persons training, whether male or female, obtained "power" or "mystery" in some degree. A person who went through no training would not be efficient in physique or in skill. Neither would one be as hardy, energetic, and industrious as a person who had trained even a little. Considerable importance was attached to mental training in certain ways. To attain success, persons had to concentrate the mind as much as possible on the object of their desire. They tried thus to obtain a vision. Emotions, such as anger, disappointment, sexual desires, should be suppressed. The youth should enter into a state of calm and expectancy. With the guardian spirit the novice generally obtained a song. Some obtained more than one song from their guardian spirits. Sometimes the song was heard and no one seen. Some obtained several guardian spirits and several songs, generally one from each. Some men could get *en rapport* with their guardian spirits at will, and were informed by the latter of things that would happen. Some could tell what people said about them behind their backs, and they could read people's thoughts and judge their intentions. Many of these men became shamans.

The old people made boys and girls bathe in cold water every day. This was to make them strong, hardy, and able to endure cold. It was also believed to make them healthy, immune from colds and sickness, and able to recover quickly from wounds.

TATTOOING.—The first tattooing on boys and girls was generally done at the age of puberty. Some of the designs tattooed, especially those on boys, were records of their dreams or visions in the same way as were some face and body paintings. Some believed that they had a protective influence, or formed a sympathetic bond between the individual and his guardian. Some marks were pictures of the guardian spirit himself (p. 193).

SCARIFICATION.—Scarification was practiced by all young men during their training at puberty. Cuts were generally made on the arms and legs, and sometimes on the insteps, and backs of the hands and fingers. Some men training to be shamans or warriors cut their bodies as well. Sometimes a long slash followed each rib; or, again, many short horizontal cuts, occasionally close together, one above the other, were made on the upper arms or elsewhere. Some youths rubbed charcoal, or white or red ochre, into the wounds, which, when they healed, were similar to tattoo marks. Others who did not do this, in after years, whenever clothes were not worn on these parts, painted all their visible scars red. Burning with live coals taken from the fire was also practiced, as well as burning with dry stalks of tule, which were lighted and allowed to burn out on the skin. Cutting is said to have been intended to let out bad blood, to make the person healthy, light-footed, active, and to prevent laziness. It also helped to inure the youth to the sight of his own blood; so that in case he was afterwards wounded, he would not faint or be alarmed. It helped him to be brave. Burning was for the purpose of enabling him to stand severe pain without flinching. Young men generally used their sweat house as a sleeping place when training in the mountains. Sweat houses were generally individual, as among the Thompson.

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[189] c, pp. 317–321, b, 247–250.

MARRIAGE.—There were no restrictions on marriage except between blood relatives. Parents (or families) tried to select husbands and wives for their children from families of good standing. Good or distinguished men, and capable, industrious women had no difficulty in obtaining the best wives and husbands. Friendship was cemented between families and feuds and quarrels sometimes settled by intermarriage. In the same way intertribal peace was made and sustained by intermarriages between the families of the chiefs. The forms of marriage were similar to those of the Thompson:[illegible]

Marriage by proposal of the man's family, followed by gifts of goods given by them to the woman's family.

Marriage by betrothal, the girl's family taking the initiative, and betrothing their daughter to the man. When she came of age, or on a prearranged date, she became his wife with or without presents from his side.

Marriage by touching or direct choosing, and proposal by the man himself, as in the marriage dance, the man proposing to the girl by touching her or dancing with her. (See p. 191.) The union was consummated with or without presents from his side. Only rarely did the girl's side give any presents.

This occurred occasionally, however, in what may be called a fourth form of marriage. A family selected a distinguished or wealthy man. Unknown to him, they sent their daughter to marry him and gave her presents for him, to make her all the more acceptable. Her parents considered it an honor to have the man as a son-in-law and to have her family connected with his. The man might refuse to take the girl to wife, but this very seldom happened.

Marriage by elopement was very rare.

Marriage gifts were not kept by the parents or persons receiving them, but were at once given to the other members of the family, who distributed them among themselves. Skins and robes were the

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[illegible] a, pp. 321–325.

most common marriage presents. As far as remembered, there was no conveyance ceremony, whereby the bride was conducted back on a visit to her people, and presents interchanged.[illegible] As a rule, there was little or no feasting at marriages. In recent years it is customary for both the bridegroom's and the bride's people to give feasts to each other. Sometimes only the man's people give a feast. Friends now give presents to the newly married couple; but this is considered a modern custom adopted from the whites.

Serenading of girls by song or on flutes and whistles was common. Marriage was seldom or never proposed in this way, however, the serenading being done as a matter of courting, prompted by sexual desires.

At least two common methods of proposing marriage were in vogue. Marriageable girls generally slept on straw or hay near the fire in the center of the lodge. When a girl saw a lad approach her, she stood up near her bed and turned her back to him. He sat down on the straw and talked with her, finally telling her he wished to marry her. She never answered. Then he turned over some of the straw of her bed and began to burn it. She put her foot backward and stamped out the fire without looking at him or speaking to him. He squeezed her foot or tramped on her toes. If she said, "Why do you tramp on my foot?" he knew he was accepted, and left. Again in a day or two he visited her; and if she looked at him this time, it was a sign that he was certainly accepted and that she had not changed her mind. He then told his parents, and they and his other relatives began to save up property for the marriage gift. If the girl did not talk to the man, or look at him, or put her foot out, or attempt to stamp out the fire, then the man knew that he was refused.

Another custom was similar to a Thompson method of proposal.[illegible] The lad went at night stealthily and sat on the edge of the girl's blanket as she lay in bed. If she tried to pull it away and said nothing during the time he remained there, it meant that she refused him. If she made no attempt to pull the blanket away, he felt encouraged, and continued to sit there. He never spoke. At last she asked him why he sat on her blanket. He then knew he was accepted, and told his parents. As far as remembered, there was no custom of tapping a girl with an arrow, thus proposing marriage to her.[illegible]

On the death of a woman's husband she became the wife of his brother, who now became responsible for the subsistence of herself and children. For this reason all the belongings of the deceased were taken by his brother and divided among his family, leaving to the widow only her own personal property.

[illegible] See Thompson, a, p. 223.

[illegible] See Thompson, a, p. 224.

[illegible] a, p. 224.

If she refused her husband's brother, who was obliged to marry and sustain her, his responsibilities ceased, and she was no longer considered part of her late husband's family. She had to leave, and could marry whom she chose. Her children were taken by her husband's brother or his relatives. Infants remained with the mother until old enough not to need her. Then she had to relinquish the child to its father's family.

Separation between husband and wife was uncommon. Elopements occasionally occurred. In this case the husband had the right to kill his wife and her paramour.

Women lived apart from their husbands during menstruation, and appear to have been at these times under restrictions similar to those obtaining among the Thompson.[207]

MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—It seems that formerly there was a strict taboo forbidding a man to speak to his mother-in-law; also in many families women did not speak to their fathers-in-law. These customs are said to have been in vogue long before the tribe commenced to go to the plains, and were not adopted from any eastern tribes. The restrictions regarding speaking obscene conversation before relatives were similar to those of the Arapaho.

BURIAL.—The Coeur d'Alêne disposed of their dead by burial in the earth or in rock slides. Corpses were never cremated or deposited on scaffolds or in trees. People were buried in the nearest suitable place. Only rarely did people bring the body from a distance and bury it beside relatives' graves or in family or communal burial grounds. Only bodies of chiefs or prominent men were sometimes thus treated. An instance of this was that of a great hunter called *Calcalicó'ls*, belonging to Mission. He was accustomed to hunt far to the southeast of St. Joe River, in the Clearwater country, at the extreme end of the Coeur d'Alêne hunting grounds. He died in these distant mountains after 10 days' illness. He was a tall, heavy man, and the people tried to carry his body home through the long stretch of rough mountainous country. Horse after horse gave out, and at last they had to bury him in the mountains. Bodies of warriors who died on distant expeditions or in enemy country were not burned, as was often done by the Thompson and Shuswap. The body was buried in some hidden place, or under the camp fire of the lodge in which the man had lived. A fire was built over it to destroy the signs of burial. The camp was then struck; and many people and horses passed over the grave, treading the ashes of the fire as well as those of other fires in the camp. This rendered it impossible for any enemy to detect the burial. Burial under the camp fire rendered it much less likely that the body would be discovered and dug up by wolves. Sometimes a person was buried and a fire built over the grave.

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[207] a, pp. 326–327.

Other similar fires were made near by to give the impression that a party had camped there. When the fires were out the party rode or drove their horses over the fire places. These methods of burial were always employed by parties hunting on the plains.

When a person died the body was tied up with cords, knees to chin, and wrapped in a robe. It was seldom washed or painted before burial. Occasionally the face was painted red, and very rarely also the body or parts of the body. If the deceased had been fairly wealthy or had wealthy relatives the body was wrapped in a good robe. Sometimes the body was dressed and further wrapped in a good robe. Poor people simply wrapped the body in an old robe, in poor skins, or in mats.

As soon as a person died a messenger was sent to announce the death to the neighbors and to all relatives living at a distance. The corpse was prepared for burial as soon as death was certain. A pole was placed over the body and sewed inside the robe, the ends protruding. This was used for carrying the corpse. It was long enough so that one or several men at each end could bear it on their shoulders. When all was ready the corpse was taken outside and suspended from the branch of a tree until all the relatives had arrived and the people had gathered for the funeral. When all had come it was taken down and carried to the grave. Before the body was deposited in the grave the latter was swept out with a branch of rosebush, as among the Thompson.[illegible] If this was not done it was believed that some one else would die soon. The corpse was put into the grave on its side, or occasionally in a sitting posture. It seems that it was not placed facing in a particular direction. Very little of the dead person's property was buried with him; in many cases merely the robe he was wrapped in. Occasionally a few small things, including food, were put into the grave by mourners. Long ago most burials were in rock slides, and those in the earth had heaps of rocks put over the grave. Graves were circular and about 3 feet in depth above the corpse. Slender poles were also commonly erected at graves—generally single poles, or two poles, including the pole the corpse had been carried with. Sometimes three poles were erected over the grave like the foundation poles of a tent. Goods consisting of some of the property of the deceased, and presents given by friends at the funeral, such as blankets, were suspended from them. Often small quantities of food and small presents were placed on the grave. In the case of women, roots and berries—fresh ones, if in the proper season—were placed at the grave immediately after burial. This was supposed to satisfy the spirit of the deceased and prevent her from visiting the berry and root patches, thereby spoiling the crops or interfering with the diggers and pickers. Often one or more horses

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[illegible] a, p. 328.

belonging to the deceased or his relatives were killed and the skins hung at the grave. If the skins were required, then only the hoofs were hung there. Canoes, like other pieces of property, were sometimes deposited at the grave. No tents of mats or skins, wooden boxes, fences or figures were erected over graves. Grave poles were always peeled, and painted red. Occasionally only parts of them were painted. None of them were carved in any way. It seems that there was no custom of rebundling by taking up the bones some years afterwards and rewrapping them, as among the Thompson.[309]

Human bones, when found, were placed in branches of trees by the person finding them, or occasionally buried where found. Hunters, when they found animal's skulls, often placed them on the branches of trees.

Neighbors who came to funerals gave small presents, such as food, to the bereaved relatives to help them and to show sympathy and pity. Some of the presents went with the dead, being deposited at the grave; the food was used to feed people who attended the funeral. If the relatives themselves fed all the people they might run short of food supplies if they were poor people. These presents were absolute, and no value was returned. Good-hearted neighbors, who volunteered their services without payment, cooked and served food for the funeral assembly. After the burial the property of the deceased was divided up among his relatives as they saw fit. At a later date it became a custom for the relatives to set aside part of the property of the deceased to be given to the people who attended the funeral, partly to "stay their grief" and partly as a present for their kindly offices. The people divided the property received in whatever way they saw fit.

After a person's death no miniature deer were made and shot at, as among the Thompson,[310] but strings of deer hoofs were suspended across the lodge, and shaken from time to time. It seems that this was to frighten away the ghost. The lodge was fumigated by burning leaves, grass, and roots in the fire, making a dense smoke. The people, especially relatives, fumigated themselves several times by standing in the thick of the smoke as long as they could endure it. The principal plants used in fumigation were sweet grass (*Hierochloe odorata*) and an unidentified plant called mare'mstsist(?). In many cases the lodge in which an adult person died was burned and a new one erected in another place. Sometimes the lodge was taken down after being fumigated, shifted to another place, and fumigated again after being put up.

Persons burying or handling the corpse had to fast for several days and bathe themselves in running water.

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[309] *a*, p. 330.

[310] *a*, p. 332.

The men who dug the grave, the people who arranged the corpse for burial, and the men who carried it to the grave received no payment from the relatives of the deceased. They were generally neighbors who volunteered their services to help the bereaved. There was no paying-off ceremony,[111] as no one received payment for any services rendered in connection with the dead. At the present day there is a regular gravedigger, as among the whites, who looks after all the funeral arrangements. Before and after the burial, most of the assembled women joined the sorrowing relatives in crying and in singing mourning songs, which were *ex tempore* and all of the same tune. As among the Thompson, orphans were made to jump over the corpse of their deceased parents, and, if they were too young to do this, they were lifted over.

On the death of a father, mother, son, daughter, husband, or wife, the hair of mourners was cut straight across the neck by relatives. Widows and widowers usually cut their hair a little shorter than parents, and the hair was always cut shorter for adults than for children. The hair cut off was burned. The tails of horses belonging to a man who had died were often docked. It seems that no thongs were worn around the neck, ankles, and wrists by widows and others, as was the custom among the Thompson.[112] Rose twigs were worn on the body by widows and other mourners in the same way as fir boughs and rose twigs among the Thompson.[113] Widows and widowers slept on beds of brush in which were placed a few rose branches. They washed themselves every day for a certain time with water in which rose branches had been boiled. They also bathed in running water morning and evening. They did not eat meat of any kind for four days; and during the whole period of mourning they ate only common food, and that sparingly. They should not eat much at a time, nor eat food of which they were particularly fond. They should turn their thoughts away from any delicacy, and restrain their appetites.

Widows were not allowed to pick berries, for by so doing the crop would be spoiled. The belief was that the ghost might follow the widow to the berry patches and harm other pickers, and blast the crop.

The period of mourning and purification for widows and others appears to have been generally shorter than among the Thompson, but it varied with different individuals.

The burial customs of the Nez Percé are said to have resembled very much those of the Coeur d'Alêne; but there were some differences. For instance, among the Nez Percé the faces of corpses were nearly always painted, and they clothed and decked out the corpse much more than was done by the Coeur d'Alêne. They also buried much more property in the grave.

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[111] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 334–335.

[112] *a*, p. 333.

[113] *a*, p. 333.

XII. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

Conception of the World.—Coeur d'Alêne beliefs regarding the world were very similar to those held by the Thompson.[314] Some people thought the earth was surrounded by water on all sides, while others thought there was water on two sides only. According to some, the edges of the earth were mountainous all round, or on two sides only according to others. Vague ideas were held regarding the shape and origin of the earth. Some thought it was oblong, and others that it was circular; while still others held no definite ideas on the subject. Some people believed there was only water before the earth was made. Many considered the earth as animate, a transformed woman. She was sometimes spoken of figuratively as "mother," and the sun as "father." The earth was given its final form by the culture hero Coyote in mythological times. At the time the Indians were few, and they had a severe struggle to exist, owing partly to their own ignorance of arts, adverse physical conditions on the earth, and the prevalence of monsters who preyed on them. Coyote destroyed or transformed the monsters and changed the face of the country to benefit the Indians. He also taught them many arts, such as the use of fire. He also introduced salmon into many parts of the country, told the Indians to eat them, and showed them how to capture and cook them.

In mythological days the climate was different from the present. According to some, there were much wind and heat. According to others, there was also much thunder. Again, others say there was no rain and snow; it was hot, dry, and windy, but there was little or no thunder. One tale relates how the wind once blew much stronger than it does now, and often hurt people. Coyote made snares. At last, by making an exceedingly small one, he captured the wind and broke its power. He made it promise never to blow again so strongly as to hurt people.[315]

A belief was held that hot and cold winds (or heat and cold) were made by people who kept these winds in bags. The hot-wind people lived in the far south and the cold-wind people in the far north. When the former felt cold they squeezed their bag and a warm wind rushed over the earth northward. When the cold-wind people became too warm they in turn squeezed their bag and a cold wind rushed southward. The Indians who lived in the country between were thus troubled with successive hot and cold winds.

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[314] a, pp. 337–342. In regard to the deity Amo'tqEn, see p. 184.

[315] See for this and the following Folk tales of Salishan and Sahaptin tribes: Memoirs American Folk-Lore Society, vol. 11, pp. 119, et seq.

There is another tale which relates that Heat and Cold were brothers, the former good-looking, and the latter ugly. Once when his brother was away, Cold got angry at the people and said he would kill them. He made such cold weather that the people began to freeze to death. Heat, hearing that the people were dying and that many were already dead, hurried home to save them. He made the weather so hot that he killed his brother. Since then heat can always kill cold, and ice and frosts and snow melt away and die. As long as the two brothers lived together at home the qualities of the one counterbalanced those of the other, so that the weather was always temperate and there was no danger to the people; but if one went away then the remaining one had the power to cause extreme heat or extreme cold.

Another version of this tale is that the two brothers lived part of the time with the people; and it was then always fair, temperate weather, because the influence of the one counteracted that of the other. At a certain season, however, Cold went away on a journey; and as Heat alone remained, his influence was much felt, and there was then summer. At another season Heat always left for a journey, and Cold remained, whose influence became great, and the people had winter. Cold was of an erratic, ugly disposition; and one time when his brother was away he became very angry at the people and caused extremely cold weather. Many froze to death; and all would have perished had not Heat rushed back, as warm weather now sometimes does in the spring after a protracted winter, to save the people, and made the weather so hot that he killed his brother. Since then cold has not had the power to kill people except very rarely, when they were foolish; nor has extreme cold had the power to remain longer than a few days at a time.

I did not hear of any beliefs relating to the origin of light and darkness, clouds and fog, although I inquired for them. It seems, however, according to some tales, that the world at one time was always dark, and that people had to grope about. To make things better, they thought they should have a sun and a moon. They chose Robin to be the sun, and he went up into the sky. He was sometimes so hot that the people were nearly burned up, and had to submerge themselves in the water during his day's course in the sky. Those who could not reach water died. The people deposed Robin and put in his place a one-eyed man called *Sɛntsgo'tselts qa tc'd'pqɛw*, son of *Tc'áqgen* the one-eyed one. Since then it has never been too hot.

When Coyote had finished his work on earth the people chose him to go up into the sky and be the moon. He served as moon for some time; but at last he became unsatisfactory, because he always divulged what he saw on earth, and many people were ashamed, for they did not like their deeds to be known. When Coyote had gone to be the moon the old man or Chief *Spocwant'tcuk* traveled around on earth, inspected Coyote's work, and set right many things that Coyote had left undone. This Old-Man Chief is said to have been altogether helpful to mankind. My informants said that he was for the Indians what Christ was for the whites. When he had finished his work he went up into the sky and became the moon in place of Coyote. Some think that he sent Coyote to be the moon after Coyote had finished his work as transformer, but later, seeing that Coyote was not quite satisfactory, he himself took his place. Afterwards a toad jumped on the face of the moon and remained there. Before this the moon was very bright—equal in brightness to the sun.

A moon halo is called "the moon makes a house"; and a sun halo, "the sun makes a house." Eclipses of the moon are said to be caused by the moon covering his face or eyes.

Once the sun killed some of Coyote's children, and in revenge Coyote killed the sun and cut out his heart. At once the earth became totally dark. Coyote tried to go home in the dark, carrying the heart; but it always got in his way, so he trod on it. Seeing that he could make no progress, he put the heart on the sun's body; and at once the sun came to life, and there was bright light as before.

The rainbow is called "Coyote's bow."

Thunder is the noise made by the large wings of the Thunder Man who lives on the high mountains. At one time he used to kill people by throwing stones like large arrow stones. A man went to his house and tore up his dress, which was made of feathers. After this Thunder Man could not kill people and merely thundered when it was going to rain.

Rain and snow are made by the "chief above" or "Sky Chief," who showers them on the earth as required. Earthquake is simply called "the earth shakes"; and it seems that no cause is ascribed for it, except that some people think the "earth mother" is moving.

Most stars are considered to have been transformed people of the mythic period.

The morning star is called "bringing the day"; the evening star *hwts' mag'ncauwun* (meaning uncertain). The Milky Way is called "dusty road."

The following story is told regarding the constellation Great Bear. There were three brothers who had a brother-in-law, a grizzly bear. The youngest brother loved their brother-in-law, but the two elder ones disliked him. One day when they were out hunting they told their youngest brother they would kill the bear. He would not agree to this, and followed him, who had already gone hunting, to warn him. The other two brothers started in pursuit and overtook them. They were about to shoot at the bear when the youngest brother called out, "Brother-in-law, they are going to kill you!" As they were in the act of shooting all were transformed into stars, and may now be seen as the four stars forming the corners of the Dipper. Some people say that the four stars in the square are the bear and the stars forming the handle of the Dipper are the three brothers.

It seems that the Pleiades are called "Cluster." They are said to have been a group of people. To the side is a small star, and behind it a large red star. The small star is called "Coyote's child"; and the larger one, "Badger." The latter stole Coyote's favorite child. Coyote pursued them. When he had nearly overtaken them they were transformed into stars. It seems that some people include the Pleiades in one name with these stars.

A group of stars forming a circle, with one to the side (probably Auriga), are said to have been a group of women cooking camas in a pit in the ground. The roots were nearly cooked, and the women sat around it, ready to take out the roots. Skunk went there with the intention of spoiling the cooking.[118] As the women quite encircled the oven, he could not get near, so he sat down a little distance off to await a chance. As all were in this position they were transformed into stars. The Thompson call what seems to be the same group of stars "cooking in an earth oven," and say that these stars were women cooking.

Another group of stars is called "the canoe." Five men were making a canoe. A man was working at each end and one on each side. The fifth one was standing between one of the side and end men. As they were in this position they were transformed. The Thompson call the stars of Orion "bark canoe"; and another group of stars, "canoe with men in it."

Another group of stars is claimed to have been a lake, with a bird called *t'áq'tul* ("snow goose"?) on it. Some hunters shot it, and as it died it spread out its wings over the water. All were transformed, including the bird with its wings outspread. This is probably the same group as that called "lake with swan on it" by the Thompson, also called by them "lake" or "swan."

A group of stars consisting of three in a line is said to have been three persons running a race. These are probably the same stars as those called "following each other" by the Thompson. Another group of two stars is called "racers" or "runners" by the Thompson, who say they were men running a race.

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[118] See taboo against men approaching an oven when the roots were cooking (p. 185).

Dwarfs.—The Coeur d'Alêne believe in a race of dwarfs who inhabit the forests and live in trees which they go up and down with great celerity. People have watched them ascending and descending trees. They always go head first. They are formed just like people, but are very small. They appear to be all red, and most people think they dress in red. They carry their babies upside down on board carriers. People whom they approach lose their senses. Sometimes when they come out of their stupor they find themselves leaning against a tree upside down. Sometimes they missed parts of their clothing and, on looking around, would see them hanging from the ends of branches high up in the trees. These dwarfs were fond of playing tricks. They took away food and hid it, and occasionally took whole bags of camas and fastened them to the ends of branches up in trees. They never kept any articles they had taken, and never killed or hurt people.

Another kind of dwarfs, often called by the same name as the first, but differing from them in appearance and disposition, are of the size of small boys. They live in cliffs and rocky places up in the mountains and were formerly numerous in parts of the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé countries. They dress in squirrel skins and use small bows and arrows. They often shout when they see people, and in this way have often led hunters astray. One was found dead by a party of Nez Percé about 1895. They heard some one scream and, going in that direction, found the body.

Tree Men.—Other beings seen formerly in the Coeur d'Alêne and Spokan countries are called *stc'xmqestci'nt*. They have a strong odor, dress in buffalo skins, and have the power of transforming themselves into trees and bushes. Once a number of people were dancing in the Spokan country near a small lake close to Cheney. Suddenly they smelled something, and one of them exclaimed, "That is *stc'xmqestci'nt!*" They looked around and saw four men standing a little apart from one another and wearing around their shoulders buffalo skins, the hair side out. Immediately they disappeared and four bushes remained where they had stood. These four bushes could still be seen lately. Possibly the power of the people's glance killed them or prevented them from transforming themselves back into men. However, there are trees which have been in one spot a very long time, but they are *stc'xmqestci'nt* just the same, although they seem merely trees to people looking at them. In other places trees and bushes change places or are sometimes absent and sometimes present. Often when these beings were seen and people approached them they disappeared, and only trees or bushes could be found.

Giants.—Giants were formerly common. They have a very strong odor, like the smell of burning horn. Their faces are black, some say painted black, and they are taller than the highest tents. When they saw a single tent or lodge in a place they would crawl up to it and look down the smoke hole. If a number of lodges were together they were not so bold. Most of them dress in bearskins, but some use clothes of other kinds of skins with the hair on. They live in caves in the rocks. They have a great liking for fish, and often stole fish out of the people's traps. Otherwise they did not bother people much. They are said to have stolen women occasionally from other Indian tribes, but there is no tradition of their having done this in the Coeur d'Alêne country.

Land and Water Mysteries.—There were many "land mysteries" and "water mysteries." In character they were the same as those inhabiting parts of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet countries.[217] The locations of these mysterious powers were usually in mountain peaks, waterfalls, lakes, and sometimes in trees. Offerings were made to propitiate them or to obtain their help. Occasionally these powers showed themselves, and when they did so it portended evil. The "mystery" of each locality had a well-defined form of its own, no two being alike. In one lake the form of "mystery" seen was half mammal and half human; in another lake, half human and half fish; in another place it was entirely of mammal form, being like a huge buffalo; and in another place it was like a huge fish. As a rule, "water mysteries" arose out of the waters of lakes, and were rarely seen on land. People who saw them died shortly afterwards.

The "mysteries" of some lakes have underground passages leading from under the water to holes in the tops of mountains.

Once a long time ago some women were gathering service berries at a place called *Golxs' ustem* (?)[a], a long way up the St. Joe River. Among them were four sisters. One day when it was very hot the women said they would swim in the river. When they were swimming one of the sisters saw in the deep water what she thought was a large fish. She proposed to swim out to it, and said, "Let us see who can reach it first!" When the four sisters reached the spot where the fish was, it went down, and immediately all the sisters sank and were seen no more. The other women who were watching said, "That was no fish, it was the tongue of a water mystery." Near this place is a mountain with a little "mystery" lake on the top called *Tusi'stsm(?)*.[4] Shortly after the drowning of the sisters some people were up on this mountain and discovered the hair of the sisters on the shores of this lake. They reported this to the parents of the girls, who went there and took the hair away. After this people knew that there was a water passage between the river and the lake on the top of the mountain.

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[217] a, pp. 338, 339, 344, 345; c, pp. 598, 599; k, p. 276.

[a] One of the many "lost lakes" in Coeur d'Alêne folklore.—G. Reichard.

Near the head of St. Joe River is a lake called *Stups'susmen* ("swallowing"). When people look at it sticks jump out of the water. The Indians are afraid of this lake and never go near it. Once two brothers were traveling on a ridge above this lake. The elder brother said to the younger, "Go and bring me some water from the lake, I am very thirsty." The younger brother said, "I am afraid. No one ever goes near this lake." The elder answered, "You must go, for I shall die of thirst. You must bring me some water." The lad hurried to the lake, drew a little water quickly, and then ran back up the hill. The water followed him uphill. He hurried to his brother, put down the water bucket beside him, and then ran down the opposite side of the hill. The elder brother watched the water rise to the top of the hill, then it stopped a moment, and disappeared down the hill, catching his brother halfway down. Then it rose to the top of the hill again, and receded to the lake. When all was quiet he went over and found his brother dead. He had evidently been drowned by the water when it caught up with him.

In Coeur d'Alêne Lake there is a "mystery" in the shape of a water buffalo. Once a man was traveling in a canoe along the edge of the lake. At one place a bush grew alone near the water. As he was passing this place in the dark, all at once his canoe stood still, and, paddle as he might, he could not make it move. He could see nothing in the dark and began to feel along the sides of the canoe. He felt a horn holding the canoe on each side and then knew it was the water buffalo. He gave it a present and begged it not to harm him. Then the canoe was allowed to proceed. After this, people, when passing this place in canoes, always propitiated the "mystery" by praying to it not to harm them and not to make the lake windy. At the same time they deposited offerings, which they put down near the bush.

There were also "mysteries" at other parts of Coeur d'Alêne Lake to which the Indians made payments and asked for good weather on the lake and good luck in fishing.

It seems that people did not paint their faces specially when they passed by mystery lakes in the mountains, as the Thompson often did. At some of the high summits where trails pass and in passes

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[4] Now Grizzly Elk.—G. Reichard.

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in the mountains in the eastern part of the Coeur d'Alêne territory, each passer-by puts down a stone. Thus at some of these places large heaps of stones have accumulated. These places were abodes of "land mysteries." Indians who neglected to do this were generally visited by bad luck in their undertakings or by sickness.

The Soul.—I obtained very little information about beliefs regarding the soul and the future state. My informants said that long ago the Indians had no knowledge of what the whites call the "soul." Besides the body, people knew of nothing else belonging to a person except a shade, which they believed survived after death. Some thought there were two of these, one of which remained near the body, the other going off to some place, they knew not where, to a land where all shades finally lived together. Many, however, believed only in the one shade, which became a ghost after death. It remained near the grave, or wandered about the places where the person had been in his lifetime. After a greater or lesser length of time it disappeared altogether and no one knew where it went.

Ghosts of drowned people haunted the water for a time. Ghosts of persons who had been dead but a short time liked to visit people. If repelled, they gave up their attempts, and afterwards appeared only in lonely places and near graves. Sometimes they harmed people and cast sickness on them. Some people's ghosts resembled them when alive, while others differed slightly. Some people believed that ghosts were just like people, but that they had no heads.

It is said that in the earliest time people did not die. After a time death was introduced into the world by a woman, and since then all people have died, and their flesh has rotted, leaving only bones. After a time even these decay and disappear. It seems that there was no belief that Coyote or others brought back the dead.

Nowadays the Christian idea of a reunion of the dead is held by some, but the Indians say that this has been learned from the priests. The form of the belief held seems to show that it is modern. I learned of no belief regarding animal underworlds or spirit worlds. There was no belief that infants, children, or other people were reborn.

Prayers and Observances.—The prayers and observances of the Coeur d'Alêne were of the same character as those of the Thompson.[113] The Chinook wind was supplicated for mild weather. People prayed to the rain to come or to stop, as it best suited their interests. They had a rain song. The snow was supplicated by hunters who wished it for facilitating the tracking or procuring of game. Dancing and singing often accompanied prayers and supplications. The rain and all powers were called "chief" when addressed in prayer. Prayers to land and water mysteries, and offerings of payments made to them, have already been mentioned.

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[113] a, pp. 344–350.

Prayers were offered by some families once or twice each day, generally in the morning when rising, and sometimes also at night on retiring, by one or two of the elders of the family, and were addressed to *Amo'tqan*, or sometimes also to the day and to the sun.

Most chiefs, elders, heads of families, and elder brothers prayed and admonished and instructed more or less regularly the children and others regarding the proper conduct of life. Elderly women did the same.

It seems that the chief deity prayed to was *Amo'tqan*,[illegible] who is said to live on the highest mountains, whence he looked out over all the earth. He could see all lands, and understand what was required for the benefit of the Indians. He was supplicated to pity the people and to attend to their necessities. He was asked particularly for plenty of game, berries, and roots.

Before hunting, hunters often fasted and sweat-bathed; and in the sweat house they prayed to the animal they were to hunt and to other powers, such as the spirit of the sweathouse, that they might be successful in procuring game. When animals were killed they were often thanked.

Much respect was paid to bear and beaver, as these animals were thought to know, see and hear everything. They knew what people said and thought about them. If a man intended to hunt them they knew it. They allowed themselves to be killed only out of pity for the people. Skulls of bear and beaver were therefore always elevated on poles or put on trees. When a man killed a bear he blackened his face and sang the "Bear song," which had an air of its own and resembled a mourning song. He praised the bear in the song for giving himself up, and at the same time bewailed his death. This custom has not been practiced for about three generations.

It seems that there was no first-salmon ceremony and no ceremony when the first tobacco of the season was smoked or gathered. This may be accounted for by the fact that neither salmon nor tobacco were indigenous to the Coeur d'Alêne country.

In contrast to the Coast Indians, it appears that there were no ceremonies regarding the capture or eating of any kind of fish among the interior Salish tribes, with the exception of the Lillooet and to a less extent of the Lower Thompson. It also seems that none of the tribes had any special ceremonies when eating game or flesh of any kind of animal.

[illegible] See Thompson, A'motam, c, p. 345.

As among the Thompson, men, especially unmarried men, were not allowed to come near the earth ovens when the women were cooking certain kinds of roots.[320] Among the Coeur d'Alêne this referred more particularly to camas. The roots would spoil or would not cook properly if a man came near. As far as I could learn, there was no belief regarding lizards following people.[321]

Four was the common mystic number among the Coeur d'Alêne as among the Thompson and other interior Salish tribes.

Dances and Ceremonies, First-Fruits Ceremony, or Harvest Dance.—The Coeur d'Alêne, like other interior Salish tribes, had first-fruits or harvest ceremonies. When the first important berries, such as service berries, were gathered, before any were eaten the chief of each band who had supervision over the berry and root crops of his territory, called his people together, and in their presence offered a long prayer to *Amo'tqᴇn*, thanking him for the berry crop, and telling him that his children were now about to eat them. The chief then held out on a tray or mat, or in a basket, an offering of the berries in season to *Amo'tqᴇn*. The direction of the chief's prayer and offering was generally toward the highest mountain in view. After this the people often danced for a short time, and after that they had a feast of the berries. Exactly the same kind of ceremony was performed when the first important root crop was gathered, such as camas. If the people were in a large camp and belonged to several bands the chief of the camp made the offering. These ceremonies have been out of use for a very long time.

Praying Dance.—A dance considered distinct from the sun dance, and called by a different name, was almost the same as the common religious or praying dance of the Thompson, Shuswap, and Lillooet.[322] The manner of dancing in circles, and the steps, motions, and signs made in the dance, appear to have been just the same as among the Thompson. The deity prayed to was *Amo'tqᴇn*, who was addressed directly as *Amo'tqᴇn* or *Amŭ'tᴇp*, and also as "chief."

The "marrying dance" was not associated with this dance, as was generally the case among the Thompson and Shuswap, but instead was attached to the scalp dance. It seems doubtful if the praying dance among the Coeur d'Alêne had any connection with beliefs in the dead, the return of souls and of Coyote, as it seems to have had in a number of tribes, such as the Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson, and Kutenai. However, very little is now remembered about the dance. The connection with the dead seems to have been less pronounced among the Thompson than among the Shuswap and Lillooet.

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[320] *a*, p. 349. [321] See Thompson, *a*, p. 348; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 619, 620.

[322] *a*, pp. 351–354; *e*, pp. 603–605; *k*, pp. 283–285.

Elements of what may have been sun worship appear to be connected with the dance in all the tribes. The Coeur d'Alêne claim that long ago the dance was generally held but once a year, about the time of the winter solstice or a little later. Some years it was performed oftener and at irregular intervals. No musical instruments were used.

Sun Dance and Sun Worship.—The sun was much worshipped. The people prayed to him constantly for good health, good luck, success in undertakings, and for protection. After *Amo'tqɘn,* the sun was probably the deity prayed to most. Symbols of the sun were much used in early times as designs in embroidery and in painting on clothes and utensils, especially on shields and weapons of warriors. Bands and also smaller groups of people performed the sun dance at frequent intervals. People in some places danced it once or twice a year, and others almost every month. People might dance it at any time they desired. The sun was prayed to directly in this dance and the dancers made all the signs or motions in the dance toward the sun. The sun dance with torture of the prairie tribes was known but never adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne.

Horse Dance, Thanksgiving Ceremony.—It is said that a dance was performed by some of the bands long ago, and in later years by most of the tribe, at the end of the harvest, when all the crops of berries and roots had been cured. The people had all their salmon and other supplies stored and were ready for the fall hunting. *Amo'tqɘn* was given thanks in this dance and ceremony for the plentiful and successful harvest; and prayers were offered, it seems, to him and to the sun—to the former to give a bountiful harvest the next year, to the sun for success in the hunting which was about to begin. According to some people, one of the chief aims of the dance was to hasten the fattening of the horses before starting on the annual buffalo-hunting expedition to the plains. I did not obtain full details regarding this dance.

Medicine Dance.—An important dance among the Coeur d'Alêne similar to ceremonies of other Salish tribes[129] was the medicine dance. The participants sang the songs obtained from their guardians and imitated them by cry and action. This dance was for several purposes, such as to overcome the bashfulness of young people; to find out how adolescents had progressed in their training, and to learn if they had received songs from their guardian spirits and the nature of their powers; to bring people together in a friendly way and induce closer fellowship between them and their guardian spirits; to bring the people as a whole in closer touch with one another, with the guardian spirits as a whole, and with all animals and everything in nature; to learn who had powers over certain things, such as the weather; and who could through their powers be of most service to the people when help was required at any time.

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[129] See Shuswap, *e*, p. 610; Lillooet, *k*, pp. 285, 288.

Songs sung by some shamans produced warm or cold weather according to the qualities of their guardian spirits. Others made game plentiful or drew it near. Persons who had these powers could be called upon for help when the weather was bad and game scarce, and their singing and dancing in the medicine dance helped to produce favorable conditions. The dance was supposed to benefit the people in some way, to make life easier and to drive away sickness. It was held several times a year, but chiefly in the winter, by each band independently. As far as described to me, the dance is the same as the guardian-spirit dance of the Nez Percé described by Spinden.[226] It seems that no musical instruments were used in this dance either—only singing.

War Dances and War Ceremonies.—A dance was held before going to war, and also, if possible, before an attack. Usually, however, it was held before going on the warpath. As there was almost constant war between the western Plateau tribes and the Plains tribes, it was invariably danced previous to starting for the plains on the annual buffalo hunt. Originally it seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the step of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian-spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual. The Coeur d'Alêne continued to dance the war dance for exhibition and for exercise until about 1900, when it was discontinued owing to the influence of the priests. They say that the late form of their war dance was identical with that of the Nez Percé and Flathead, and the same as is still danced on Fourth of July celebrations by the Yakima, Columbia, Sanpoil, Nez Percé, and others at Nespelim and on the Yakima Reservation. The Nez Percé, in dancing the old form of the war dance, kept time with notched sticks or rasps only, but among the Coeur d'Alêne both rasps and drums were used. Only the members of the war party participated. In late days, when the dance became largely for exhibition only, nearly all the men danced.

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[226] *b*, pp. 262-264.

When the tribe thought of going to war a war council was held of chiefs, war chiefs, and leading men invited by the head chief, or the head war chief. When the council decided on war, blankets were hoisted, like flags, on the tops of all the tents of the men who had formed the council. Generally the first blanket was hoisted on the council tent. The people then knew that war had been decided on. Later the people of each tent who intended to join raised a blanket in the same way. All the people then gathered to talk with the chief who was to organize the war party, and to hear what he had to say. The chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each one who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. When there was no room for any more to hold the blanket another blanket was brought into use. This was kept up for hours, until all who wished had joined. When this ceremony was over a council was held, at which chiefs were elected to take charge of the party, and matters of organization and conduct of the war were discussed. During this discussion the big pipe was constantly passed around contra-sunwise, every one smoking a few puffs as his turn came. It seems that every party had a war chief, and some parties had two or more, one of whom, however, was the head. One of the chiefs, generally the leader, always carried the pipe. Some parties elected one or more shamans to accompany them. The war dance was repeated at intervals, sometimes for several days.

If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him. A war dance was held after all the houses had been visited and all who wished had joined. Those who did not care to go simply looked on.

Occasionally no war dance was held before starting. The above was a common way for men to make up expeditions to go on horse-stealing raids against other tribes. Sometimes the men went around on horseback from house to house instead of on foot. There appears to be no memory of any dance held by the women during the absence of a war party, as was customary among the Thompson.[238] Before a war party left they often went through a farewell ceremony. All the men of the party beat time on blankets, a number of men holding one blanket. They traveled around the lodges in the nighttime, following a course contrary to that of the sun. They stopped before each lodge, singing twice. The women followed behind and joined in the singing. Sometimes it was daybreak before the round was finished.

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[238] a, p. 356.

Scalp Dance.—When a war party returned without trophies of any kind there was no celebration. If they had killed an enemy the party shot off a gun when about a mile from camp. Sometimes four shots were fired, which meant that they had been successful. If the number of shots was other than one or four they denoted the number of scalps taken. When the people heard the shots they went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. Shortly after the arrival of the party the chief announced when the scalp dance would be held, always within two days after the arrival of the party. The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them, formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of the warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. They took possession of the scalps which the warriors had exhibited in the recounting of their deeds and bore them on the ends of poles at the head of the procession, which was led by their mock war chief. If there was only one scalp the leader carried it. After they had marched around with much acclamation and shouting they formed a circle ready for the dance. The six greatest warriors of the band took each a small drum; and all sat together at the east or south side, outside the circle. Occasionally they sat down in the middle of the circle. The men and all the rest of the people formed a large circle of spectators away from the dancers. The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and continued for about two hours. All of them joined in the song while dancing. In the afternoon the dance was repeated for about the same length of time. When it was over the persons owning the scalps took possession of them. Some men exhibited them suspended from poles in front of their lodges, taking them down in a day or two. Others attached them to their hair or clothes and wore them for a short time. Some men preserved the scalps entire and wore them at dances, while others used the locks for fringes of scalp shirts. In later days they were chiefly used as arm fringes on shirts. They were used rarely or not at all as fringes for leggings.

If the war party had taken captives an additional dance was performed called "to-scalp-dance-them." This dance was held at the end of the regular scalp dance, and was exactly as described by Ross and quoted by Spinden.[illegible] The men formed two rows facing each other, with the women between in two rows facing each other. The captives, chiefly young women and sometimes boys, had to march up the middle, carrying the poles with the scalps. During the whole dance the captives had to pass back and forth between the rows of women, who taunted them, jeered at them, pulled and pushed them, and struck them with their fists and with sticks. If a captive cried much, the women might draw a scalp across her mouth or eyes or down her face. It might be that of the woman's husband, child, or other relative. When the dance was finished the men, who meanwhile had taken no part in the abuse of the captives, took possession of them and each one escorted his slaves to his lodge. They were now treated kindly and their wounds and bruises were washed and dressed.

If an adult man was brought back as a captive he was held a prisoner until the end of the dance and then killed, usually without torture. It was rare, however, for a man to be captured, as it was preferred to kill him in battle and scalp him. Men who did not care for the captives they had taken sold them to other members of the tribe or to strangers. Sometimes they allowed them to escape after a while. Most captives were held, however, and adopted into the family as wives or children. Occasionally the head of some noted enemy was brought to camp entire, and rarely also his feet and hands. These were carried at the scalp dance on the ends of poles, and preceded the scalps borne in the procession, always being carried in front of all the other trophies. If a noted enemy was killed close to the camp the whole body was carried in dressed as it was and set up on forked sticks for exhibition. It happened rarely that at the end of the "to-scalp-dance-them" dance one or more of the captive women or boys were killed by the excited women in revenge for relatives

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[illegible] I, p. 267.

killed in the expedition. The scalp dance sometimes lasted for four days.

Tsuwikt Dance.—A Nez Percé variety of the scalp dance, called *tsuhuikt* or *tsuwikt* (a Nez Percé term), appears to have been adopted by the Coeur d'Alêne and danced occasionally. It was never much in vogue. No doubt it is the same as that referred to by Spinden.[227]

Tribal and Intertribal War Dances.—At certain periods a great war dance was performed, which may be called a tribal war dance. A common rendezvous was named and people came from all the bands of the tribe to attend it. In form it was the same as the ordinary war dance, but was performed for exhibition and not for war purposes. It was also an occasion for making the exploits of war parties, of bands, and of individuals known to the whole tribe. In this way it was like a grand review. The dance lasted several days, with intervals of rest, feasting, and games. Other dances, such as the scalp dance, marrying dance and medicine dance, were often associated with it.

Intertribal dances of a similar nature were also held, the most famous place being at the mouth of Snake River. Here annually all the neighboring Shahaptian and Salishan tribes met in times of peace for a great exhibition. It seems that the Spokan and Columbia attended this dance regularly, and often Coeur d'Alêne parties accompanied the Spokan. Intertribal games took place at the same time, the meeting generally lasting about two weeks. Besides war and scalp dances, many other dances were performed for exhibition at this gathering, and warriors recounted their deeds.

Marrying Dance.—A marrying dance, in which men chose wives, was similar to that of the Thompson, Shuswap, Lillooet, Okanagon, Yakima, and Klickitat.[228] Among the Shuswap and Thompson the dance was often associated with the praying dance; but among the Coeur d'Alêne it is said to have been generally combined with the scalp dance, although there is no apparent connection with it. All the young women arose first and danced in a circle. Then the young men formed in a circle on the outside, dancing in the opposite direction. Each man carried a short stick. During the progress of the dance, when a young man came opposite the girl he desired, he placed his stick on her shoulder, and leaving his line danced alongside of her. If the woman refused him, she threw off the stick, and he had to fall back into the men's line. If the woman allowed the man to dance with her and the stick to rest on her shoulder until the end of the dance, she accepted him; and they were considered married, and so declared by the chief at the end of the dance.

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[227] *b*, p. 267.

[228] See Thompson, *a*, pp. 324, 353; Shuswap, *e*, pp. 591, 604; Lillooet, *k*, p. 268.

FESTIVAL OR GIFT DANCE.—A common ancient dance was performed at social gatherings of bands or families. The dancing appears to have been individual, the dancers being generally apart and dancing in one spot. Women danced more frequently than men. It seems to have been the same as the "*sle'i*" dance of the Thompson, used at festivals and potlatches.[illegible]

WOMAN'S DANCE OR ROUND DANCE.—In late years the dance called "squaw or woman's dance," or "round dance," was often danced at gatherings. It served for amusement only. The women go in a circle sidewise with a limping step. A woman may take up a male partner to dance with her, holding his arm or hand. Usually she has to make a small gift to the man she takes up. The dance is looked upon as distinctly a woman's dance, and is said to have been introduced from the east about 1870. Some claim that it is of Cree origin and others say that it came to them from the Crow.

WEATHER DANCES.—As already stated, people danced when they wanted a change of weather; and there was a rain song, a snow song, etc. Usually this kind of dancing was done by small parties, especially hunting parties, and was led by some shaman or other individual who through his guardian spirit was supposed to have control over the weather. He generally sang his own song and the people generally joined in the singing.

GAME DANCES.—Similar to the weather dances were the game dances, and often the two were combined. If the people found it hard to get buffalo or other game they engaged a shaman or other man whose guardian was the buffalo, or who had power over the animal to be hunted. He sang and the people usually danced and sang with him. The dancing differed somewhat for different kinds of game. Sometimes prayers were offered at these dances. Usually at the end the shaman foretold where and when the animals would be met with, and the hunters acted on his advice.

GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Guardian spirits appear to have been about the same in character as among the Thompson[illegible] and were acquired in the same way. Almost everyone, both male and female, had one or more guardian spirits, but as a rule those of the men were more powerful than those of the women. A person partook to a greater or less degree of the qualities of his guardian. No parts of animals were guardians, but often parts were employed as symbolic of the whole. Sometimes a part of an animal had more power than others, and therefore was spoken of as a supernatural, but it was not independent in power of the animal itself. As among the Thompson, the sun was a powerful guardian of warriors but was hard to obtain.

[illegible] a, pp. 385, 386.

[illegible] a, pp. 354–357.

Thunder, eagle, and certain kinds of hawks and owls were also guardians of warriors, but less powerful than the sun.

Every man had one or two "medicine" bags in which he kept skins, feathers, bones, or other parts of his guardians, and also charms of stone and herbs. Many men wore some of these charms when on journeys, on hunting trips, and especially when going to war. They were worn as necklaces and pendants or were attached to the hair, clothes, or weapons. Some of them were worn concealed. Men who had a small, sharp-sighted owl for their guardian attached it to the back of the hair facing backward as a protection against being attacked from behind. (See p. 119.) Some men never displayed any parts of their guardian animals, but kept them in their "medicine" bags.

Medicine bags were of two kinds. One kind was of soft leather, and rolled up into a cylindrical-shaped package. It was generally kept near the head of the bed, or under the pillow. The other kind was a cylindrical case of rawhide, often fringed, and ornamented with painted designs similar to those on parflêches.[31] It was suspended in the lodge near the owner's sleeping place, where he kept his shield and weapons. Many men carried these cases in battle. Some used both kinds of medicine bags. When going on a war expedition they carried the rawhide case containing those objects or parts of objects considered most potent in war. The remainder of the charms were left at home in the other medicine bag. If a man were killed in battle and his medicine case taken, the "medicine" therein was believed to be of no value to the person obtaining them, and might even do him harm if he tried to use it in any way.

The rawhide medicine case came into use about the time when the people began to go to the plains, and may have been adopted from the Flathead or the Plains tribes, all of whom used it. Probably it came into use among all the tribes only after the introduction of the horse, since it is especially adapted for travel by horse.

Men painted images or representations or symbols of their guardian spirits and pictures of their most important dreams on their clothes, robes, shields, and weapons.

Pictographs of battles, and of important events or experiences in a person's life, were also painted on robes, which in consequence were treated with great care. Pictures and symbols of guardian spirits were also often painted or tattooed on the body. It was believed that these pictures had offensive or defensive power derived directly from the guardian spirit. (See p. 169.) Thus a man who had an arrow tattooed or painted on his arm, if the arrow was one of his guardians, believed that his arm was made more efficient for shooting. In the same way a mountain tattooed or painted on the arm rendered it strong, provided the mountain was a guardian of the person. Likewise the reproduction of a bear or deer on the arm gave the person skill in bear and deer hunting, provided these animals were the guardians of the hunter. Most of the painted designs on shields had a protective meaning. Some of the common figures were mountains, arrows, sun, eagle, hawk, and owl. War horses were often painted with representations of guardians and dreams, and the horse itself was a guardian of some men. Tents also were painted with pictures and symbols of guardians and dreams, or with geometrical designs.[illegible]

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[31] See Nez Percé, b, fig. 5, No. 3.

ROCK PAINTINGS.—Rock paintings were common in some parts of the country, but I did not hear of any petroglyphs. The nearest rock paintings to the present location of the Coeur d'Alêne are said to be at Chatcolat. There was no belief that spirits or "land mysteries" made certain rock paintings. All were made by people. Besides being records of dreams, objects seen in dreams, guardian spirits, battles, and exploits, they were supposed to transmit power from the object depicted to the person making the pictures. Young men during their puberty ceremonials made rock paintings, but girls very seldom did. From time to time older men also painted dreams on cliffs.

IMAGES OF GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Men formerly carved images of their guardian spirits. These were generally stone figures of animals, birds, and men, or parts of them. Usually they were small and kept in the medicine bag. Occasionally they were kept in view in the lodge. Most figures were of human form, not because the men who made them had guardians of human form, but because almost all guardian spirits could assume human form; and most men preferred to represent them in manlike form. Sometimes a guardian spirit would appear in dreams to his protégé in human form only and, were not he himself to reveal his identity, his protégé would not know what he was and what his name. He might say, "I am the coyote," "I am the grizzly bear that runs," "I am the grizzly bear that walks," and so on. Sometimes he might say, "I am the one who helps you," and then add some description of himself as an animal, so that his protégé knew him.

Some stone images did not resemble any known animals, because they were representations of beings, or of parts of beings seen in dreams. Some resembled mythical beings, "mysteries," and animals, which Indians had never seen alive, but only in dreams and visions.

[illegible] Compare also war dress (p. 118).

Some were even of a composite character, such as half animal and half human. Human figures were made full size; arms and legs, also busts, consisting of head and neck, or head and upper part of body. Most figures were made in an erect posture, but some in other attitudes. Many were made nude, and some were carved clothed. Others, not made this way, were clothed by painting and by adding decorations such as feathers. Usually the image was made to correspond to the figure and dress of the guardian spirit as he usually appeared. These stone images were regarded with considerable reverence, and were thought to possess a mystic power beneficial to the owner, but sometimes injurious to others. Therefore these figures were never bought or sold, or treated as mere ornaments or works of art. In fact, they were seldom or never handled except by the owner, and when he died they were placed in his grave or deposited near by. They were inherited only in a few cases—for instance, when son and father had the same guardian. Then the image would be of some service to the son as he would "know" the guardian it represented. A long time ago these images were common. They were not generally carried around on hunting expeditions, but were left at home in the lodge.

Other images were made rather for ornament. They were generally set up in view in the lodge, and may have been house ornaments. It is doubtful, however, if this was their only purpose. It seems, at any rate, that they were not considered real images of guardian spirits, although some people thought they were connected with them. It is said that even they were considered "mystery," and never sold. In rare instances some of them were given to friends who were not afraid of them. As a rule, they were larger than the images of guardian spirits, perhaps about 12 or 15 cm. in height. No images of any kind were treated as family property; they were the sole property of the person who made them, in the same way as the medicine bag. If the owner died in a distant place without his medicine bag and without the image of his guardian, his relatives placed these objects in the forest or burned them. In a few similar cases the image was kept and placed in or by the grave of the next one of his family who died, even if it was a mere child. A few images of both kinds were carved of wood or antler; but most of them were of stone.

SHAMANISM.—Shamans were about the same in character as among the Thompson.[222] Almost the only difference between them and other men was that they made a profession of curing people who were sick. They received payment for their services. If the person they treated died, they received no payment; and no payments were made except in cases of what seemed to be complete cures. Many men had quite as much power as most shamans, but did not use it professionally. On the whole, however, shamans were supposed to have more powerful guardians than most other men; and they were credited with having greater knowledge of the dead and of disease than other people. Their process of treatment was chiefly by incantations. They sang their individual shaman's songs which had been obtained from their guardians, and they blew on their patients and made passes over them. It seems that they never danced when treating people, or put on masks and looked for souls, as among the Thompson. Some shamans occasionally prescribed herb medicines to be drunk, or salves to be applied, but this was usually only when their guardians advised them to use these. They also occasionally prescribed painting in certain colors on certain parts of the body of the patient. Rarely did these paintings take special forms, but usually consisted of just a simple application of some paint. As a rule, the painting was done according to instructions received in dreams. Sometimes, too, shamans prescribed certain foods. Horses and dogs were treated by shamans in just the same way as people. Most shamans had the power of driving away ghosts, and some of them could bewitch people and in this way cause their death. Occasionally they were killed for doing this. Shamans were generally men, but some were women. A few of the latter were as skillful as the men or even more so. There were no differences in the methods employed by men and women shamans.

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[222] See Thompson, *a*, p. 376 and fig. 297; Shuswap, *e*, p. 603; *f*, pp. 173, 191.

Ethical Concepts.—Ethical concepts[59] and ideas of beauty appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson.

Charms and Beliefs.—I did not learn much about these matters. Charms or fetishes were in common use. Generally they were small smooth stones which had been picked up and kept because they showed some peculiarity in shape or color. Some had natural or artificial holes, others were inclosed in skin and suspended around the neck. Usually they were worn out of sight. Some were considered very lucky and were transmitted from generation to generation. Besides stones, claws and teeth of animals were used, and also roots and plants of various kinds. Some of the latter helped persons to obtain wealth or success in love. Some stones were picked up and used as charms because they bore a resemblance in shape to an animal or bird. To make the resemblance more striking, they were sometimes carved or filed a little. It seems that there were no charms for locating game, as among the Thompson; neither were beliefs held like those of the Thompson—that throwing stones at certain lakes would cause wind; that burning beaver hair or killing frogs would make rain;

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[59] a, pp. 366, 367.

that telling coyote stories would make snow or cold; and burning lightning wood would make cold weather. However, wood of trees struck by lightning was never burned except by accident, as it was believed that one of the people who burned it or used it as firewood would die. Some people believed that toads had the power of making rain at will.

MEDICINES.—As among the Thompson, a number of medicines made from herbs were used as tonics, or salves, but I did not have opportunity to inquire into this subject. The scent root called *χasχas* was dried and powdered fine, then mixed with animal grease and used as a salve on sores. As among the Thompson, mother's milk was used occasionally to anoint sore eyes.

THE OKANAGON

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

Tribes of the Group.—The tribes of the Okanagon group are (1) Okanagon, (2) Sanpoil, (3) Colville, (4) Lake.

Tribal Names.—The names "Okanagon," or "Okinagan," "Okanagon Lake," "Okanagon River," are derived from the Indian name of the tribe. The name "Sans Poil," given to the tribe by the fur traders, seems to be simply a French adaptation of their Indian name, and does not originate from any peculiarity of the tribe in being "without hair." They were also called Sanpoil and Sinpoee, corruptions of their own name. The Colville are named from the Colville River and Fort Colville, places in their territory; but formerly they were generally called "Chaudière" or "Les Chaudières" by the fur traders. They were also known by translations of this term; such as "Kettle Indians," "Pot Indians," "Bucket Indians," and "Cauldrons." The origin of the name is not clear; but evidently it has some connection with Kettle Falls and Kettle River, places in their territory. They were also sometimes called "Shuyelpee," which is a corruption of their own name. The Lake tribe were often called "Sinijixtee" and "Sinatcheggs," corruptions of their own name. The name "Lake" was applied to the tribe because of their habitat on the lakes to the north, viz, Arrow Lakes, Kootenai Lake, and Slocan Lake, in British Columbia.

The tribes call themselves as follows:

1. *Okanā'qēn*, or *Okanāqē'nix*, or *Ōkinā'qēn*.[1]
2. *Snpoi'l*, or *Snpoi'lix*, *Snpoai'lxixix*.
3. *Sxoie'lpix*, or *Sxuie'yēlpix*, *Sxoei'lpix*.
4. *Snai'tcxkst*, *Snxai'tcxkstix*, *Snāi'.tcxkstix*.

The suffix *-ix*, *-xix*, stands for "people" (equivalent to *-ic* of some tribes and dialects). "*Okanā'qēn*" is said to be derived from the name of a place on Okanagon River, somewhere near the Falls, so named because it was the "head" of the river; at least, in so far as the ascent of salmon was concerned, very few salmon being able to reach above this point. According to tradition this place represents the ancient headquarters of the tribe. Some Okanagon and Sanpoil informants stated that the name is that of a place at or near Okanagon

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[1] Other forms of the name used by Sanpoil and Lake are Ōkanāqē'n and .ōkanāqē'nix.

Falls, where there was at one time an important salmon fishery, the place of their origin. On the other hand, the head chief of the Canadian Okanagon told me that the name is the former name of a place on the Okanagon River, near the mouth of the Similkameen, where at one time were located the headquarters of a large band of the tribe, most of whom in later times spread farther north. During a period of wars the people there constructed breastworks of stones, and with reference to this the place became known as *sahiꞏ* and the old name dropped out of use.[1] According to the same informant, the old dividing line between the Okanagon and Sanpoil people was about Okanagon Falls. From there north the real Okanagon dialect was spoken. The original center from which the Okanagon people spread was the country between Okanagon Falls and the mouth of the Similkameen. The suffix *-qěn*, *-qain*, etc., means "head," probably with reference to some physical feature of the country.

Snpot'l or *Snpot'lix̣* is said to be the old name of a place on Sans Poil River or in its neighborhood, the original home of the Sanpoil tribe.

Sxoie'lp is said to be the name of a place near or a little below Kettle Falls, which was considered to be the original home of the tribe. According to some, the name means "hollowed out," with reference to rocks there.

Snai'tcxkst is from *ai'tcxkst*, the name of a fish, said to be the lake trout (*Salvelinus namaycush*?). The Lake people are said to have been named after this fish, on account of its importance, in contrast to the Colville people below them on the Columbia, who had salmon in abundance. Some salmon reached the Lake country, and the people caught a considerable number in some places; but they were fewer in number and inferior in quality to those in the Colville country. The Okanagon tribes call themselves collectively "*Nsi'lix̣tcɛn*" or "*Nsɛ'lix̣tcɛn*," which means "Salish-speaking" (from *Sa'lix̣*, *Sɛ'lix̣*, or *Si'lix̣*, "Salish or Flathead tribes;" and *-tcin*, *-tcɛn*, "language").

Nᴀᴍᴇs Gɪᴠᴇɴ ᴛᴏ ᴛʜᴇ Oᴋᴀɴᴀɢᴏɴ Tʀɪʙᴇs ʙʏ Oᴛʜᴇʀ Tʀɪʙᴇs.—The names applied to the Okanagon tribes by other tribes and the symbols used in sign language to designate them are the following:

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[1] See p. 2[illegible]4.

	Similkameen	Okanagon	Sanpoil	Colville	Lake
Thompson	*Smɛlɛ'qamux* [1]	*Tcutzuū'ux, Tcitzuā'ux* *Tcɛwa'nɛmux* [3] *Okanā.qai'n* [4]	*Snpoē'l* [5] [10]	*Szoiē'lp* [5] [8]	*Snai'tcɛkst.* [5] [9]
Columbia	*Smɛlkamī'ɛ.* *Smɛlkamī'ɛ* [6]	*Sɛqɛnāqai'mɛx*	*Nesilɛxicē'n* [7]	*Szuiɛlpɛmɛx* [8]	*Snailcɛkstɛmx.* [9]
Flathead group	*Sɛmɛlkamī'*	*Okɛnāks'* *Okɛnā.qai'n.* *Uɛknā'.qai'n.*	*Npoē'lce* [10] *Snpoē'lɛmx*	*Szōɛē'lpi* *Szoiē' lpe*	*Snai'tcɛtstc.* *Snai'tcɛlstc.*
Coeur d'Alêne	*Smɛlkamī'ɛlɛn*	*Waic.nāqai'n.*	*Sɛnpoē'*	*Szoiē'lpɛmx*	
Klickitat (Tobacco Plains band).	*Xwayama'pam* [11]	*Kɛnāks'n* [11]			
Kutenai		*Akōuq'ɛt'lɛ'm* *Kōkɛnu'k'kɛ* [12]		*Kɛopilɛ'nik!* [12]	
Upper Kutenai		*Okanaks'n* [11]	*Sɛnpee'lɛ* [11]	*Hop.kla'n* [12] *Khapilɛ'nik!*	*Tɛɛlɛnā'nik!* [13]
Yakima			*Haiat'nima* *Ipoilq* [11]		
Sign-language names	"Eagle people"	Sometime called "Flat side of head on stream to west" (viz, Flathead of Okanagon River).		"Salmon fishers at falls" (viz, Kettle Falls).	"Lake-trout people."

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[1] Meaning "people of [illegible]," said to be the name of a locality in the Lower Similkameen valley (see also Similkameen villages, p. 203).

[2] Meaning uncertain. It is applied to the Okanagon in particular, but is also a general name for the southern Salish, in the same way as "*Tcɛwa'nɛmux*." The same term is used by the Shuswap for the Lower Lillooet.

[3] Also the Shuswap name for the Okanagon. The term probably means "people at the back or behind," "back-country people." It is applied particularly to the Okanagon, but is also a general name for the southern Salish.

[4] A special name for the Okanagon of Okanagon River. Said to be from the name of a place on Okanagon River.

[5] The suffix -emx ("people") may be, and occasionally is, added to the Thompson terms for the Sanpoil, Colville, and Lake.

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[6] Said to be the name of the district around the mouth of the Similkameen.

[7] Means "Salish-speaking" or "having Salish speech."

[8] The names for the Colville are said to be derived from a place name near Kettle Falls. They mean "hollowed out" according to some, and "stone skin-grainer" according to some Flathead informants.

[9] "Trout people." All names refer to a variety of trout—lake trout according to some, and salmon trout according to others.

[10] All the names for the Sanpoil are said to be from the name of a place in their country.

[11] Derived through the Salish language.

[12] Said to mean "Falls people."

[13] Probably from a place name. Meaning uncertain.

[14] "Eagle people." Klickitat say they think the name was applied to a tribe east of the Spokan; but Salish and other informants say it is the Klickitat or Yakima name for the Similkameen. The form here given corrected from Teit's [illegible] by Melville Jacobs.

Names Given to Other Tribes by the Okanagon.—The terms in the following list were all collected from Sanpoil (Nespelim), Lake, and Okanagon. I obtained none from the Colville.

Lower Fraser	*Tlεmeiü'xε.*
Lillooet	*Nxelamü'nex* ("ax people").
Shuswap	*Sεxwa'pmux, Sεxwü'pmεx.*
Thompson	*Lukatεmü'xᵘ, Lεᵘkatεmü'x, Nεkatεme'xᵘ.*
Wenatchi	*Snpεskwa'usεx.*
Wenatchi (Chelan division)	*Sicεlü'nεx* ("Chelan people," possibly literally "Lake people").
Columbia	*Snkaü'usεmεx, Snqeü'us.*
Bands along Columbia River below the *Tskowa'xtsεnux* or Moses-Columbia band.	*Naia'qᵘicεn, Niü'qεicεn.*
Old Salish tribe at The Dalles	*Neᵘkatεmü'ᵘxᵘ, Lεᵘkatεme'ux.*
Spokan	*Spoqei'nεx, Spöqei'nεx.*
Kalispel	*Skalsεpi'lεx, Kalspü'lεm, Skalεspe'lεm.*
Pend d'Oreilles	*Snia'lεmεn.*
Flathead	*Sa'lεx, Sü'lix.*
Coeur d'Alène	*Skü'tsüx, Skü'tsεx, S'ki'tsuᵘx.*
Paloos	*Stεqa.mitü'nεx* ("people of the confluence").[3]
Yakima	*Sü'kεmεx.*
Klickitat [4]	Called by the same name as the Yakima, and also by the name of The Dalles tribes.
Wallawalla	*Skeiü'εnx.*
Umatilla	*Skeiü'εnx.*
Nez Percés	*Saha'ptεnεx, Saü'ptεnεx.*
Cayuse	Same as Wallawalla and Umatilla.
Wishram	Same as The Dalles tribes.
The Dalles tribes in general	*Sweiü'mpamεx.*[5]
Wasco	*Sweiü'mpamεx, Swüsa'pεx.*
Chinook	*Tsεnü'k.*
Shoshoni or Snake	*Snaεqe'nixεmεx, Snaakü'nt* ("snake people").
Upper Kutenai	*Skalzü'ulk.*[6]
Lower Kutenai	*Sleqale'qᵘax, Sle'ltix.*[7]
Blackfoot	*Stεkwei'xεmεx* ("black-footed people").
Sioux, Cree, and Plains tribes in general.	*Xnox'tu'sεm* ("cut-throats," "cut heads off").

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[3] Either the confluence of the Palouse with the Snake or the latter with the Columbia, probably the latter.

[4] The Handbook of American Indians gives "[illegible]" as an Okanagon name for Klickitat.

[5] Compare Xwa'lxwaipam, a Klickitat name for themselves.

[6] Said to be named from the Upper Kootenai River. By some the name is thought to mean "upper water" or "water above," with reference to the position of the Kootenai River above the Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and Lake tribes (from skal, "above" or "at the top;" and s'ulix, "water"), thought by others to have some connection with skol or skalk (as in the name Kalispelem), derived from a word for "young camas" (according to Boas), and thus may mean "camas water." The term skalzi'ulk ("water-people") is given in the Handbook of American Indians. (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 740.) The interpretation is probably derived from ske'lux or ske'lux ("man," also "people," "Indian") and se'ulk ("water"); i.e., "man's water" or "people's water" or "Indian water." The Indians do not favor this interpretation. (It would mean: "human water."—F. B.) They claim that the name of the people is from the river, and not the river from the people.

[7] Said to be named from Kootenai Lake and River (all the Lower Kootenai, from Bonner's Ferry down).

DIALECTS.—The differences in speech between the four tribes are very slight. The variation in pronunciation and vocabulary is sufficiently marked to identify the division to which a speaker belongs. The chief differences between Colville and Lake consists in the slower utterance of the latter.[1]

The Colville use the term *Salixtci'n* for all the Salishan languages of the interior, including Coeur d' Alêne, Shuswap, and Thompson.

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES.—In climate, natural features, flora, and fauna, the territories inhabited by the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville are very similar to those of the Upper Thompson and neighboring Shuswap bands. The climate is slightly moister (rainfall 25 to 37 centimeters in most places), the valleys are wider, and the surrounding country less mountainous. The territory of the Lake tribe has much more precipitation. It is heavily forested and very rough and mountainous, occupying the heart of the Selkirk Range. There are long stretches of lake and river waterways, smooth, and well adapted for fishing and canoeing. Large falls and rough water also occur in places. As may be expected, the flora and fauna differ considerably from the drier, less mountainous, and more open country inhabited by the other tribes.

The Okanagon tribes were surrounded by other tribes of the interior Salish, except on that part of the eastern confines of the Lake tribe where they bordered on the Lower Kutenai. Formerly the Okanagon had for their western neighbors the *Stuwi'x* or *Stuwi'xamux* (an Athapascan tribe). The international boundary line cut the territories of the Okanagon and Lake at points which divided the populations of these tribes in about halves. The territories of the Sanpoil and Colville were entirely in what is now eastern Washington.

DIVISIONS, BANDS, VILLAGES, PLACE-NAMES.—The Okanagon had at least two recognized divisions; under present conditions the Similkameen may be considered as a third division.

1. The Upper Okanagon or Lake[2] Okanagon, occupying the country around Okanagon Lake, Long Lake, and Dog Lake (or Lac du Chien). The Nicola Okanagon, with headquarters at Douglas Lake, belong to this division. At the present day whites often class the latter people as a separate division of the Okanagon, or still more frequently class them erroneously as part of the Nicola Indians (the *Tcawa'xamux* or Nicola division of the Thompson).

2. The Lower Okanagon, or River Okanagon, in the country along Okanagon River below the former division. These people were often called "Real Okanagon" by the Thompson and also by other Okana-

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[1] A similar difference prevails between the eastern and western Shuswap. Like the Lake tribe, the former were largely a canoe people. They occupied a country very similar in climate and natural features, contiguous to the Lake tribe and just north of them.

[2] This division is called [illegible] ("Lake people") by the Thompson; and they often call themselves, in distinction from other Okanagon, [illegible], Lake people.

gon. It seems that the Okanagon below the Falls did not constitute a separate division.

3. The Similkameen of Similkameen River. This is a modern division only very lately beginning to be recognized. For this reason, and also because of the growing ascendancy of the Okanagon language and blood in this part of the country, I have included the Similkameen among the Okanagon. The Thompson still claim the Similkameen valley down as far as between Hedley and Keremeous, and there is no doubt that the Thompson language has predominated throughout all the Upper Similkameen up to the present time, and Thompson blood is probably predominant there yet. However, the Similkameen country originally belonged to neither tribe. In olden days it was occupied by the *Stuwi'x* or Nicola-Similkameen Athapascan tribe. When describing the Thompson Indians I have included in their territory the Nicola valley, which is dominantly under Thompson influence. The other part, nowadays under strong Okanagon influence, I include in the Okanagon territory.

At the present day the Okanagon of British Columbia include seven bands, with as many chiefs. Of these bands, four belong to the Okanagon and three to the Similkameen.

1. *Spə'xəmən* or *Spə'xəmən*, or Douglas Lake band.	Headquarters at *Spə'xəmən*[10] or Douglas Lake, on the Upper Nicola River.
2. *Nkəma'pəlaks*, or Komaplix band.[11]	Headquarters *Nkəma'pəlaks*, at the head of Okanagon Lake.
3. *Pənti'ktən*, or Penticton band	Headquarters at the foot of Okanagon Lake, near Penticton.
4. *Nkəmi'p*, or Osoyoos band[12]	Headquarters *Nkəmi'p*, on the east side of Okanagon River and head of Osoyoos Lake.
5. *Kərəmē'us*, or Lower Similkameen band.	Having a number of small settlements between the boundary line and Keremeous. Probably the chief settlement formerly was near the latter place.
6. *Acnā'lox*, or Ashnola band	Headquarters near Ashnola, south side of the Similkameen.
7. *Snəzi'st*, *Tcutcuwi'xa*, or Upper Similkameen band.	Main settlement close to Hedley.

It seems that in the early half of the past century there were more bands. Some of these may have been subdivisions without chiefs. One of these divisions was farther up the Similkameen River, with headquarters around Graveyard Creek, Princeton, and the mouth of the Tulameen. It was called the *Zu'tcəmən* ("red paint") band, from the name of a place called Vermilion or Vermilion Forks by the whites.[13] In the Okanagon Lake country there were probably at least two or three other bands. One of these seems to have been located near the middle of the west side of Okanagon Lake. The headquarters of another band was probably on the east side of the lake, with headquarters around Mission and Kelowna. Formerly many people lived around Long Lake and Duck Lake; but it is not clear whether they were a separate band. The people living there at present belong to the *Nkama'pəlks* band. The Lower or River Okanagon had also several bands. The main winter camps of most of them seem to have been on the west side of Okanagon River. I obtained no list of ancient villages of the Okanagon within the United States, and only incomplete lists of ancient and modern villages in British Columbia.

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[10] For explanations of place-names see under villages, No. 1, p. [illegible].

[11] Sometimes called "Head of the Lake band" and "Vernon band."

[12] Sometimes called "Fairview band."

[13] This band was called the Vermilion band by the traders. They were nearly all Thompson, and numbered at one time one hundred or more people. Some descendants are now living in the village [illegible].

The following were the inhabited villages of the Similkameen people in 1904. Detached single houses are not included. I visited most of them, and found groups of log cabins at all the places. Most of the villages, perhaps all of them, are built on or near old camp sites.

Upper Similkameen Band:	
1. *Nłkai'ẋəlôẋ*[14]	About 11 miles below Princeton, north side of Similkameen River; 3 houses.[15]
2. *Snāzāi'st* ("striped rock")[16]	On the north side of the river, a little east of Twenty-mile Creek and the town of Hedley;[17] 10 houses.
3. *Tcutcuwi'ẋa* or *Tcutcowi'ẋa*[18] ("creek" or "little creek").	On same side of river, a little below No. 2; 3 houses.
Ashnola Band:	
4. *Acnū'lôx* ("—— ground")	On the south side of the river, near the mouth of Ashnola Creek; 3 houses and the chief's house a little above.
5. *Nxe'pus a sẋa'nəẋ*[19] ("where the stone sticks up or is planted").	A little below No. 4, but on the north side of the river; 2 houses. (See also No. 18.)
Lower Similkameen Band:	
6. *Kəresmyē'us* ("crossing or swimming place" [for horses]).	On the north side of the river, near Keremeous; several houses.
7. *Kakəresmyē'aus* ("little swimming place" [or crossing for horses]).	Across the river from No. 6; 1 or 2 houses.
8. *Nkwaw'lôẋ* ("—— ground")	On the same side, about 4 miles below No. 6.
9. *Smela'loẋ*	On the same side, about 10 miles below No. 5.

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[14] Said to be a Thompson name.

[15] The number of houses given in each case is the number recorded in my notes.

[16] A Thompson name (from snaz, "a goat's-wool blanket" [these were generally ornamented with stripes], and -ai'st "rock," from the appearance of a big stratified rock bluff behind the village, often called "Striped Mountain" by the whites).

[17] There were 6 houses and a church of Similkameen people, 2 houses west of Twenty-mile Creek, 1 across the river, and the chief's house—10 houses in all.

[18] This is an Okanagon name. It is often used by Okanagon-speaking people as a general name for the Hedley district or vicinity. The Thompson-speaking people use the name of No. 2 in the same way.

[19] Also [illegible]. So named from a large boulder which protrudes from the ground near the trail at this place. The name is Thompson.

10. *Skemqai'n* ("source" or "head").	Short distance below No. 8, on same side of river.
11. *Nileuxte'n*	On south side of river, opposite No. 10.
Old Similkameen village sites in Washington:[20]	
12. *Nǎsli'tok*	Just across the international boundary in Washington.
13. *Xe'pulôx* ("—— ground")	A little below No. 12, near a lake.
14. *Kwaxalô's*	A little back from Similkameen River, below No. 13.
15. *Tsxlisalô's*	Below No. 14.
16. *Skwa'nnt*	Below No. 14.
17. *Ko'nkomelp*	Near the mouth of Similkameen River.
18. *Tsakei'sxanxmux*[21]	On a creek along the trail between Keremeous and Penticton; 1 or 2 houses.

The following were the chief villages of the Upper Lake Okanagon division at the same date, and some others which are old villages not now occupied:

Douglas Lake Band:	
1. *Spǎ'xomʌn* or *Spǎ'xʌmʌn* ("a shaving," "paring,"[22] or "shaved," "bare," "smooth").	At Douglas Lake on the Upper Nicola River. A large village.
2. *Komkona'tko* or *Komkʌna'tku*[23] ("head water").	At Fish Lake on the headwaters of the Upper Nicola River. A small settlement.
3. *Kǎ'lʌmix* ("bushes," or "willow bushes").[24]	Near Guichons, at the mouth of the Upper Nicola River, where it falls into Nicola Lake. A fairly large village.
4. *Kwiltca'na* ("red ——").[25]	At the mouth of Quilchena Creek.
Komaplix or Head of the Lake Band:	
5. *Nkama'pelks* or *Nkoma'pʌlaks* ("bottom, root, or neck end").[26]	Near the head of Okanagon Lake, about 8 miles north of Vernon.[27]
6. *Sallʌmuqle'n* ("place where slaughtered").[28]	Black Town, a little north of the head of Okanagon Lake.
7. *Tse'katku* ("—— lake")	At a small lake a little north of Black Town.
8. *Nkekʌma'pelaks* ("little end or head of the lake").	At the head of Long Lake, a little over a mile from Vernon.
9. *Tsulo'tʌns* ("where drawn together").	At the narrows of Long Lake. No permanent camps now.

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[20] There are no permanent camps at any of these places now.

[21] Said by some to belong to the Ashnola band.

[22] With reference to the open rolling country devoid of trees.

[23] The Thompson and Okanagon names respectively.

[24] So called because of dense patches of willow, cottonwood, and other deciduous trees along the river, near this place.

[25] Said to be so named because of red bluffs on the side of the valley a short distance up the creek. The Thompson name of the village up the creek means "red face or bluffs." This small village is counted as belonging to the Douglas Lake band, but the Thompson claim the country all along the creek, and the people are mostly of the Thompson tribe.

[26] With reference to the end or head of the lake.

[27] There were several old camps at *Nkama'pelaks*. This name was frequently used in a general sense for the district around the head of Okanagon Lake.

[28] So named because a number of people were massacred here many years ago by a Shuswap (?) war party.

10. *Stakatalqxmē'ut* ("lake on side")	Little above Mission ? on opposite side.
11. *Txzalho'qsm*[29] (with reference to a little lake at side of big one).	Near the lower end of Long Lake about 19 miles south of Vernon.
12. *Nxako'stsm* ("arrow-smoother").[30]	Place near Kelowna, and also general name for the district around there and Mission. No permanent camps now.
13. *Skela'un.na* ("grizzly bear")	Kelowna, near the present town. No permanent camps now.
Penticton Band:	
14. *Stakatkolqnē'ut* or *Stakatalqxmē'ut* ("lake at the side").	On the opposite side of the lake from Mission.
15. *Penē'ktsm* ("place at end of lake" or "place where the lake is gathered in").	Penticton, near the foot of Okanagon Lake.
Nkamip Band:	
16. *Sxoxxmē'tkᵘ* ("swift rough water or rapids").	Lower end of Dog Lake. No permanent camps now.
17. *Nkamī'p*[31] ("at the base or bottom").	On the east side of the upper end of Osoyoos Lake.
18. *Soi'yus* ("gathered together" or "meeting").	Near Haynes or the old customhouse just north of the American line. No permanent camps now.

The main camps of the tribe in the Okanagon Valley (within British Columbia) are said to have numbered at one time about 18. In Mr. Hill-Tout's list[32] of Okanagon villages the Enderby village (No. 1 of his list) is included. This village is Shuswap and has never been Okanagon. The present-day villages are situated on small scattered reserves. The upper Okanagon have some 15 reserves under the Okanagon Agency and eight (belonging to the Douglas Lake band) under the Kamloops Agency. The Similkameen have 17 under the Okanagon Agency. I collected no list of old villages from the Lower Okanagon. These people are nearly all on the Colville Reservation in Washington, where they have received allotments.

I obtained the following names of old village sites on Okanagon River south of the Canadian line:

Milkameī'tᵘk or *Milkamīt'tuk*[33] ("—— water").	A name for the district around the mouth of Similkameen River and of the river.

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[29] The people of this place are counted as belonging to the Nkama'palaks band, but originally, with Nos. 9, 12, 13, and possibly others, they composed a band by themselves.

[30] Said to be so called because of a hill where people obtained stone for making arrow smoothers.

[31] See Gibbs, "Konekomep" Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 730, probably either *Nkamī'p* or *Kl'akemip* (see No. 17, p. 209).

[32] Hill-Tout, "Report on the Ethnology of the Okana'k'ēn." (Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., vol. 41, p. 130.)

[33] See Gibbs, "Milakitekwa" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 861). The other band name given by Gibbs (Kluckhaitkwu, ibid, 718) the Indians think is *Sītxpa'lī'xᵘ* or *Sītxpa'lī'xᵘ* the name for a district and river east of the Spokan (?) or east of the Okanagon. The Intietook band mentioned by Ross (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 611) is with little doubt a corruption of the Indian name for the Okanagon Lake division, from the name of Okanagon Lake. The word means "lake."

Smalkamni'n	Probably at the mouth of Similkameen River.
Sôlí'lx·[54] ("heaped house"[55])	Near the mouth of Similkameen River.
Tkwara'tsm[56]	On Okanagon River, close to *sôlí'lx·*.
Ökinâ'qēn[57] ("—— head")	An old name for *sôlí'lx·*.

The ~~Sanpoil are in two divisions: (1) *Snpoi'lxɪx*~~ (Sanpoil or Sanpoil proper); (2) *Snespi'lxɪ* (Nespelim). The name of the former division is said to be derived from that of the district around Sans Poil River; and the name of the latter, from *Nespi'lɛm* ("having prairies or flat open country"), the name of the country around Nespelim River. Possibly the names were also applicable to main camps in these districts. By some the two divisions are looked upon as separate tribes, and the Sanpoil considered the head tribe. It seems, however, that the Nespelim are only a branch of the Sanpoil. I obtained no lists of bands and camps of this tribe. It seems that most of their settlements were north of Columbia River, the main ones being along the Sans Poil and Nespelim Rivers. Some were on Okanagon River, but very few on Columbia River. The Sanpoil country south of Columbia River was chiefly a hunting ground. It seems that the tribe refused to make treaty or sell their lands to the United States Government, although willing to abide by its regulations and accept its protection. The reasons for this attitude appear to have been that the tribe did not want to be under any obligations to the whites by accepting compensation entailing supervision, or payments that might be construed as charity; and further that they revolted against the idea of selling their country. Their country was the same to them as their mother.

I did not learn if there were any divisions of the Colville, nor have I any lists of their former bands and camps. A leading band located at Kettle Falls or near the mouth of the Kettle River is said to have been called *Snoxielpi'tuk*,[58] which also appears to be the name of Kettle River. The Colville are said to have had several very large camps along the Columbia and on the Lower Colville River. It is uncertain whether there was any grouping of bands into divisions among the Lake. My informants did not know of any. I obtained what is probably a full list of the old villages and main camps of this tribe within British Columbia. These were from north to south along Columbia River and Arrow Lakes as follows:

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[54] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 267.

[55] Said to be so named from breastworks of heaps of stones erected at this place.

[56] See Gibbs, "Tkwuratum" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 781).

[57] See Gibbs, "Kinakanes" (Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 118).

[58] Compare the tribal name.

1. *Skᴇχẹ'kᴇntᴇm*	On the creek opposite the present town of Revelstoke. This place is said to have been the headquarters of a rather large band, which was reenforced at certain seasons by people from lower down the Columbia. It was noted as a trading, trapping, hunting, berrying, and salmon-fishing center.
2. *Nkᴇma'pᴇlᴇks* ("base or bottom end," with reference to the end of the lake)	At the head of the bight in Upper Arrow Lake, above Arrowhead, near the mouth of Fish River. Called "Comaplix" by the whites. Said to have had a large population. It was a specially important center for fishing, berrying (especially huckleberries), and root digging.
3. *Koᴇpi'tᴇa* ("buffalo robe")	At the upper end of Arrow Lakes, where the town of Arrowhead now is. This also was a salmon-fishing place, and a noted center for digging roots of *Lilium columbianum*.
4. *Ku'ᴇχᴇna'ks*	Now called Kooskanax. On Upper Arrow Lake, a little above Nakusp.
5. *Neqo'ᴇp* ("having buffalo")[39]	Now Nakusp, near the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake, on the east side. A noted fishing place for salmon and lake trout.
6. *Tci'ukᴇn*	A little below Nakusp; a center for hunting. Some fine caribou grounds were near this place.
7. *Snᴇχai'tskᴇstᴇm*	Near the lower end of Upper Arrow Lake, opposite Burton City. This was a great berrying center, especially for huckleberries.
8. *Xai'kᴇn*	At a creek below Burton City. A center for the catching of land-locked salmon or little red fish.
9. *Qᴇpi'lᴇs*	At the mouth of Kootenai River, just above the junction with the Columbia. A great many people lived here formerly, most of them on the north bank of the Kootenai, within sight of the Columbia. Some old and modern burial grounds may be seen in the neighborhood.
10. *Snᴇkᴇkᴇle'um*	At a creek on the west side of Columbia River, close to Trail. This was a center for gathering service berries.
11. *Nkoli'la*	Close to Waneta, on the east side of Columbia River, just above the mouth of the Pend d'Oreilles River. Many people are said to have lived here formerly, and there are some very old burial grounds near by.

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[39] There is no tradition of buffaloes occurring here.

The following were old villages and camps along Slocan River and other places within British Columbia:

12. *Snkxmi'p* ("base, root, or bottom," with reference to the head of the lake).	At upper end of Slocan Lake.
13. *Takxlxxaitcxkst* ("trout ascend"? [from *ai'tcxkst*, a variety of large trout, probably lake trout]).	On Slocan Lake, below No. 12.
14. *Sihwi'lxx*	On the lower part of Slocan Lake.
15. *Kä'ntcä'k*	On Slocan River, below the lake.
16. *Nkweio'xtxn*	On Slocan River, below No. 15.
17. *Skxtu'kxlöx*	On Slocan River, below No. 16.
18. *Sntxkxli't.kᵘ*	Near the junction of Slocan and Kootenai Rivers. This was a noted salmon-fishing place. Salmon ran up the Slocan River, but could not ascend the Kootenai because of the great Bonnington Falls. Salmon were formerly plentiful throughout the Slocan district, and many people lived at all the villages.
19. *Kali'so*	On Trout Lake. Its waters drain into the north end of Kootenai Lake.
20. *Nxmi'mxltxm*	On Caribou Lake, to the west of the narrows between the Arrow Lakes. The country around here was famous as a caribou-hunting ground.

Besides the above, there were a number of smaller villages or camps, all more or less permanent. It seems that there was an old village near the site of old Fort Shepherd, on the west side of the Columbia, a little north of the international line, and old burials are reported near here. Some informants, however, had no knowledge of a village having been here. I did not obtain a full list of the Lake villages in Washington. There appear to have been about eight main villages on the Columbia, all very populous. Three of the chief ones were—

21. *Ntsxltsxlx'tuk*[a]	At or very near Marcus, Columbia River.
22. *Stcx'xxlikᵘ*	On the Columbia, below Northport.
23. *Ntsxtsxmi'sxm*	At or very near Northport.

The other villages were chiefly near Northport, Bossburg, and Marcus. The last-named place was considered the southern boundary of the tribe. There were also some people on the Lower Kettle River. The Lake also had important temporary camps within British Columbia at Christina Lake, *Kxluwi'sst* (now Rossland), and *Tcxmulxxxi'xtsa* (now Trail), all west of the Columbia, and at *Kaia'mxlxp* (now Nelson) on Kootenai Lake. The Lake division claim that their eastern boundary was at a point on the lake some seven or eight miles east of Nelson. They sometimes had a berrying camp here.

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[a] Compare Kutenai name for the Lake, p. [illegible].

I collected a few place names from the Lake division, which are given below.

1. *Ti'kʷt* ("lake" or "large lake").	Arrow Lakes.
2. *Ntoχē'ʷtkʷ* ("straight or smooth water").	Columbia River below the Arrow Lakes.
3. *Sχona'tkʷ* ("swift, rapid, or rough water").	Columbia River below Marcus.
4. *Nta'llitχχi'tkʷ* ("*ta'llitχχ*[a] or *te'll-itχχ* water," "water of the *stalli* people [?]").	Kootenai River below Kootenai Lake.
5. *Ntsa'kulawi'tkʷ* ("portage or carrying place for canoes").[b]	Bonnington Falls and neighboring parts of Kootenai River.
6. *Skalesi'ulkʷ*[c]	Kootenai River above Kootenai Lake, especially the part in Idaho next to the Kalispel tribe, between Bonner Ferry and Jennings; but the term is also extended to include the Upper Kootenai River in general.
7. *Sloke'n*	General name for the Slocan River and Slocan Lake district. Probably from the name of a locality within the district.
8. *Nkolē'latkʷ*	Lower Pend d'Oreilles River (from the name of a place at the mouth).
9. *Silaχa'tkʷ* or *Silχχai'tkʷ*	Spokane Falls, and in a general sense also Spokane River. Some Okanagon claim that this is the name of Pend d'Oreilles River, or a river east of the Spokan.

Population.—According to the Indians, the population of the tribes long ago was at least about four times greater than it is at the present day. Probably the Lake tribe alone must have numbered 2,000 or more. A conservative estimate of their 20 village communities in British Columbia, allowing an average of 50 persons to each, would give 1,000; but this is probably a very low estimate, as some winter camps are credited with a population of from 100 to 200 people. The villages in Washington are said to have been larger than those farther north, although fewer in number. The lower part of the tribe, although occupying a small area in comparison with the tribal territory in British Columbia, is said to have numbered as many people as the whole 20 villages in British Columbia. This would give the numbers of the tribe as at least 2,000. According to the Indians, the Colville tribe numbered more than the Lake, and may be safely estimated at, say, 2,500. This tribe is said to have had the densest population. The Okanagon are said to have been a large tribe, probably outnumbering the Colville. Their population may have been from 2,500 to 3,000. The Sanpoil were the smallest tribe of the four, and may have numbered about 1,500. This would give an estimated population of from 8,500 to 9,000 for the Okanagon group; but probably their real number at one time was greater, possibly 10,000 or more. The late population of the tribes, taken from the returns of the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs for 1903 and from the American Report of the Department of the Interior (Indian Affairs), 1905, was as follows:

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[a] Compare Lake name for the Lower Kutenai, p. [illegible], said to be so named because the water came from the Lower Kutenai country.

[b] The Lake portaged canoes and goods at this place, the river being unnavigable.

[c] Compare s'ulk, etc. (names for "water" in some Salish languages), and place names in skel, skalee (see No. 18, p. 210), etc.; Calispel Lake, name of Kalispel tribe, and interpretations of skel s'ulk as "water above" (from skeil "above or at top," or from a word for "young camas").

Okanagon:			
Upper Nicola or Spahamin band	192		
Okanagon or Nkamaplix band	239		
Penticton band	147		
Osoyoos or Nkamip band	65		
Similkameen, Lower and Upper bands (Chuchuwayha, Ashnola, and Shennosquankin)	181		
Total under Okanagon and Kamloops Agencies, British Columbia		824	
Okinagan (north half)	548		
Okinagan (south half)	144		
Total on Colville Reservation, Washington		692	
Total of Okanagon tribe			1,516
Sanpoil:			
Sanpoil		350	
Nespelim		41	
Total Sanpoil on Colville Reservation, Washington			391
Colville on the Colville Reservation, Washington			330
Lake on the Colville Reservation, Washington		305	
Arrow Lake band under the Kutenai Agency, British Columbia (on a small reserve near Burton City)		26	
Mouth of Kootenai band, etc. (not on reserves)		11	
			342
Total population of the Okanagon group[a]			2,579

According to all accounts, the decrease in the population of these tribes has been much greater, and began at an earlier date, than among the Shuswap and Thompson. About 1800 the Colville and Lake were decimated by smallpox, which reached the Sanpoil, but spared the Okanagon. About 1832 all the tribes were decimated by an epidemic, probably smallpox. The Okanagon suffered almost as severely as the others. It appears that the Shuswap and Thompson escaped all the epidemics until 1857 and 1862. The Indians ascribe the great decrease in their numbers to these epidemics and, to a less extent, to other diseases brought in by the whites at a later date.

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[a] It seems that there are a few Okanagon, and possibly also Colville, not on reservations, who are not included in the Canadian and American Indian returns. The 11 people at the mouth of the Kootenai, here enumerated, are not included in the Canadian report. I counted 11 people living here in 1908 and 1909, the remnants of the old band of this place. Since then I hear that some of them have died, and others, owing to nonrecognition of their rights by the Canadian Government and to recent pressure of white settlement at this point, have followed the example of other members of their band (previous to 1908), and have gone to the United States, where they have been granted land on the Colville Reservation. See for later statistics, p. 315.

Migrations and Movements of Tribes.[45]—It seems that there has been a gradual extension of the Okanagon northward and northwestward during the last two centuries. The original home of the tribe is said to have been the Okanagon River in Washington (according to some, near Okanagon Falls).[46] Long ago the Okanagon Lake country was chiefly a hunting ground for the tribe. Deer, elk, and sheep were abundant. Caribou were plentiful in the hills to the east, and a few moose and possibly antelope were to be had. Bear and most kinds of fur-bearing animals were also plentiful. Fish could be procured in the lake all the year round. The main winter villages were located farther to the south.

It seems that about 1750 the Shuswap controlled the country right to the head of Okanagon Lake, where they met the Okanagon. They also hunted in the country east of Okanagon Lake south to a point due east of Penticton, including a large part of the headwaters of Kettle River. They crossed the Gold Range to near the Arrow Lakes, claiming the country as far east as the head of Caribou Lake and the middle of Fire Valley, where they met the Lake tribe. In the country west of the Lake they hunted on a strip of the higher grounds from Stump Lake and the head of Salmon River, extending almost as far south as Penticton, across the heads of all the streams falling into Okanagon Lake and Similkameen River, including Chapperon and Douglas Lakes.[47] They had no permanent villages in this region, but lived near Kamloops Lake, on South Thompson River, and on Salmon Arm.

The Thompson hunted south and west of this region, as far as the upper and middle Similkameen, and beyond to the south.

The Okanagon had some villages along Okanagon Lake, but it seems that the tribe used only the country contiguous to the lake on both sides, and did not range back more than a few miles. They had no foothold in the Nicola, and none in the Similkameen except below Keremeous. The people who lived at the head of Okanagon Lake were of Okanagon and Shuswap descent, with slight Thompson and *Stuwi'x* admixture. The Nicola-Similkameen country west and south of the Shuswap hunting grounds was at this time still held by *Stuwi'x*, who, later on, became strongly mixed with Thompson. They were the permanent inhabitants of the Nicola-Similkameen valley, but parties of Thompson from Thompson River traveled and hunted all over the *Stuwī'x* country, and made it their home for parts of the year. Some of them occasionally wintered there, either alone or in the *Stuwī'x* villages.

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[45] In regard to this subject consult James H. Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, edited by Franz Boas, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 83-128; and maps by Franz Boas, territorial distribution of Salish Tribes, accompanying 41st Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

[46] See p. 198; also Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 265; and Dawson, Shuswap People of British Columbia, p. 4. The early fur traders claimed that the original home of the Okanagon was in Washington.

[47] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. 265 et seq.

After the introduction of the horse there seems to have been considerable drifting of Okanagon from farther south into the Okanagon Lake country. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Okanagon from the upper part of Okanagon Lake (who were considered close relatives by Shuswap, Thompson, and *Stuwī'x* through intermarriage) began to invade the Shuswap hunting grounds to the west. They already had free access to these grounds through their blood relationship, but now they settled there, attracted by the fine grazing for horses, good elk hunting, and facilities for trading. By this time they must have attained considerable prestige as traders and as wealthiest in horses. Very soon they made a large permanent settlement at Douglas Lake, and thereafter the Shuswap, it seems by agreement,[48] retired from the country around Douglas Lake and south. When the Okanagon settled there the country around Nicola Lake was inhabited by one or two small bands of *Stuwī'x*. It seems that one of these had headquarters at the outlet of the lake and the other at the mouth of Upper Nicola River near Guichons. The upper band may have numbered about 50 or 60 persons and the lower band about the same or less. The country of the upper band especially was used by large bands of Thompson at certain seasons for hunting elk and deer, and for fishing. Sometime in the very early part of the nineteenth century the upper band was practically exterminated by a large war party of Shuswap.[49] Thereafter the Douglas Lake Okanagon began to take their place. Some Thompson parties continued to come there hunting and fishing, until about 1870; and the people of this place (*Ka'tɛmī'x*) are considerably mixed Thompson. No doubt they contain also slight *Stuwī'x* and Shuswap elements. The *Stuwī'x* tribe is said to have extended to the region near the mouth of the Similkameen River, but they were driven out by the Okanagon. This may have happened about 1700.[50] Later the Okanagon gradually extended up the Similkameen to Keremeous, but above that point the *Stuwī'x* and Thompson held the country.

I did not hear of any movements resulting in extension of boundaries among the other tribes, except perhaps the Nespelim. According to tradition, the Nespelim were a part of the Sanpoil. It seems likely that they originated as an extension of the Sanpoil westward.

The Lake tribe seem to have been a long time in their present habitat. It is possible, however, that they may have been a northern offshoot of the Colville, whom they regard as their nearest of kin. Some of them even say that they were originally one people whose home was at Marcus. An Okanagon chief told me he believed the Spokan were of Flathead ancestry, and that the Okanagon probably came from the Flathead country long ago, as their language was closely related to the Flathead, and was called by the same name as the Flathead language.

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[48] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, pp. 265, 266.

[49] See Smith, Archaeology of the Thompson River Region, pp. 406, 407.

[50] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 264.

INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—The Lake tribe had most intercourse with the Colville and intermarried mostly with them. They also had a considerable amount of intercourse with the Shuswap and some with the Lower Kutenai. There was, however, much less intermarriage with Shuswap and still less with the Lower Kutenai, the Okanagon, and hardly any with other tribes.

The Colville had a great deal of intercourse with all the neighboring tribes, particularly with the Lake and Kalispel. They intermarried more or less with all the tribes—Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel, and even others farther away. It seems, however, that there was no intermarriage with non-Salishan people until after the arrival of the fur traders, when some intermarriage took place, chiefly with Iroquois and French.

The Sanpoil had most intercourse with the Okanagon and Colville and intermarried principally with the former, only slightly with the Spokan and Columbia. Although for about 35 years Joseph's band of Nez Percé has been living on the Colville Reserve in close association with Nespelim, Columbia, and others, there appears to have been little intermarriage between these tribes. Some of these Nez Percé are partly of Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse blood. A few people of Yakima descent are on the reservation, descendants of refugees among the Salishan tribes after the Yakima and Spokan wars with the whites. Among these are some sons and descendants of Chief Kamiakin.

The Okanagon had much intercourse with the Sanpoil and considerable with Columbia, Wenatchi, Shuswap, and Thompson. They also intermarried with all these tribes, and sometimes also with Lake, Colville, and Spokan. As stated before, the northern portion of the tribe intermarried with the Shuswap and Thompson, and no doubt also to some degree with the *Stuwi'x*. There has been a slow permeation of Okanagon blood and language into the Similkameen and Nicola districts by way of Similkameen River and Douglas Lake, and to a less extent into the Spallumcheen valley (Shuswap) from the head of Okanagon Lake. Some of this blood, through intermarriage, has reached as far as Kamloops, Spences Bridge, and even Lytton. The Okanagon may have supplanted the *Stuwi'x* on the Lower Similkameen River; they may also have absorbed some remnants of the latter; above Keremeous the process has been that of absorption.

The opinion generally held seems to be that some time previous to the introduction of the horse the *Stuwi'x̣* were driven away from the Lower Similkameen entirely. Afterwards the lowest point held by them was around Keremeous. At some later date those living near this place retired farther up the river, died out, or were absorbed by the Okanagon. Anyway, they disappeared, and henceforth the *Stuwi'x̣*, along with the Thompson, occupied the river only above this point.

During the first part of the nineteenth century the *Stuwi'x̣* and Thompson languages were used exclusively above Keremeous, the Thompson preponderating. Later the *Stuwi'x̣* became extinct and Thompson alone was spoken. Through continued intercourse and intermarriage with the neighboring people of the Lower Similkameen and of Okanagon Lake, Okanagon is now gradually pushing out the Thompson language, and is liable to supplant it in the whole valley. The infiltration of Okanagon blood has been very gradual and does not keep pace with the spread of the language, which is making rapid headway. The *Stuwi'x̣*-Thompson inhabitants are becoming Okanagonized more through contact than through intermarriage. This process has been facilitated by the changed mode of life of the Thompson, whose habits have become more sedentary and who do not often visit their friends in Similkameen and seldom intermarry there. On the other hand, the Okanagon are in closer proximity to the Upper Similkameen people and, therefore, in constant contact with them. As already stated, the people of the upper end of Okanagon Lake are mixed with Shuswap, and also slightly with Thompson and probably with *Stuwi'x̣*. The Douglas Lake Band, in all their settlements, intermarried with the Okanagon Lake people, on the one hand, and with the Thompson-*Stuwi'x̣*, on the other. They have therefore considerable Thompson and some Nicola, *Stuwi'x̣*, Shuswap, and Similkameen blood.

As all the Okanagon bands intermarried a great deal, foreign blood received at one end of the tribe was often transmitted to the other end, and thus there is a little Thompson and Shuswap blood through almost all the tribe.

A few instances of intermarriage with distant tribes have been reported. About three generations ago a Similkameen man married a woman who came from a tribe in the far south. Some of her manners and some of the food she ate were considered peculiar. For instance, she was fond of grasshoppers. She may have been a Paiute or a member of a Californian tribe, probably a slave who had been sold. Another instance is that of a Similkameen young man, who while on a trading trip to Hope, married a young woman there belonging to the Lower Fraser tribe. The following year he took her back because she was unacquainted with the mode of life of his tribe and quite unable to adapt herself to it.

II. MANUFACTURES

Work in Stone, Bone, etc.—The tools used by the central tribes for working stone and wood appear to have been the same as those employed by the Thompson.[1] Arrow-flaking tools, sandstone arrow smoothers, adzes of flaked arrowstone, of greenstone, and of iron,[2] chisels and scrapers made of antler, bone, and stone, awls of bone and later of iron, fire drills, were of the same style as those of the Thompson. Greenstone or jade celts, some of them long, were used. They were most abundant in the western part of the country, and some people claim that they were made by the Columbia, who procured the stone along Columbia River. Some of them may have come from the Thompson, and others may have been of local manufacture. Stone hammers and pestles were made by all the tribes and were used a great deal. The long pestle,[3] for use with both hands, was more common than among the Thompson. Some of the stone hammers were well made. The shapes appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson and neighboring tribes. One kind had a large deep base. The handle narrowed gradually toward the top, which was pointed. Another kind was similar, but the top was small and rounded and had a knob. Another form had a shallower base and a rather wide flat top.[4] Some rough hammers consisted merely of river bowlders as near the desired shape and size as obtainable. They were pecked a little around the handhold to give a grip, and the base was flattened. Small hammers[5] were made for fine work and for use by girls. Stone mortars of various sizes were used by the Lake tribe, and probably also by other tribes. Wooden mortars were also employed. Both kinds were round. Some mortars had much larger pits than others; some were deep, and others shallow. Flat stones were used as anvils. According to information received in Similkameen, stone mortars were not used there, and it is said that none have been found by Indians in that district. Stone pestles and hammers are also seldom found, and it is believed were rarely made there. Those formerly in use are said to have been procured from Thompson Indians, or to have been brought in by them. If this is correct, it shows a difference between the old Similkameen Indians and the Thompson and Okanagon.[6] Arrow smoothers are said to have been rarely used in Similkameen, except by Thompson Indians resident there. Instead a flaked stone, with a notch at one end and a thumb hold at the other, was employed for scraping arrow shafts. A few of them appear to have been hafted with a small piece of wood for a hand grip, after the manner of the slate fish knives of the coast. I have not learned of the use of this tool (fig. 15) [7] by other tribes. Heavy chisels of antler, preferably the butt parts of elk's antler (Pl. 1), were used for felling and splitting trees. Wedges of hard wood, and occasionally of stone, were also used for splitting wood. They were driven with hammers, mauls, and mallets of stone, antler, and wood. Black soapstone for pipes was obtained in the Similkameen Valley, below Keremeous.

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[1] 4, pp. 182-184.

[2] See Thompson, 4, p. 183, fig. 122.

[3] 6, figs. 20, 25, 26.

[4] Compare Nez Percé, 6, pl. 8.

[5] See specimen No. 222 in the Teit collection at the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

[6] This would agree with their Athapascan origin. The people of this stock, at least in the north, had few stone utensils of this class.

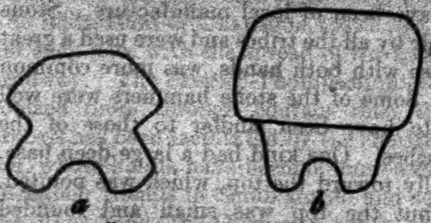

FIGURE 15.—Arrow smoother

Paints and Dyes.—As far as I was able to learn, the principal paints, dyes, and stains were the same as those of the Thompson. Red, black, white, blue, yellow, and green were the colors used, red especially being very common. Flowers of *Delphinium*, roots of *Lithospermum*, roots of Oregon grape, alder bark, and wolf moss were all employed. Cactus gum was used for smearing over paint. It seems that the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville did more painting than the Lake tribe, who lived in a moister climate. Large quantities of good red paint were obtained at Vermilion, in the Upper Similkameen Valley. It formed an article of export, and the place was much visited by Thompson Indians. It seems that the Similkameen people in early times did not do as much painting and dyeing as their neighbors.

Dressing of Skins.—The method of skin dressing and the tools used were the same as those of the Thompson and Shuswap. Small chisel-like scrapers of stone, bone, and antler were used for small skins and for certain kinds of work. None of them had serrated points. Long straight scrapers with stone heads were employed for rubbing large skins.[8] Most skins were smoked. Those intended for moccasins were always smoked.

Mats.—The varieties of rush and tule mats in vogue among the Thompson [9] appear to have been made in considerable numbers by all the tribes. As among the Thompson, sewed tule mats [10] were used as lodge covers and also occasionally berries were spread and dried on

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[7] Some of the rounded notched arrowstones in archeological finds on the Thompson may have been scrapers of this kind.

[8] See Thompson, a, p. 185, fig. 127.

[9] See Thompson, a, pp. 188–190.

[10] See Thompson, a, p. 189, fig. 121, c.

CHISEL OF ELK HORN

Thompson River Salish.

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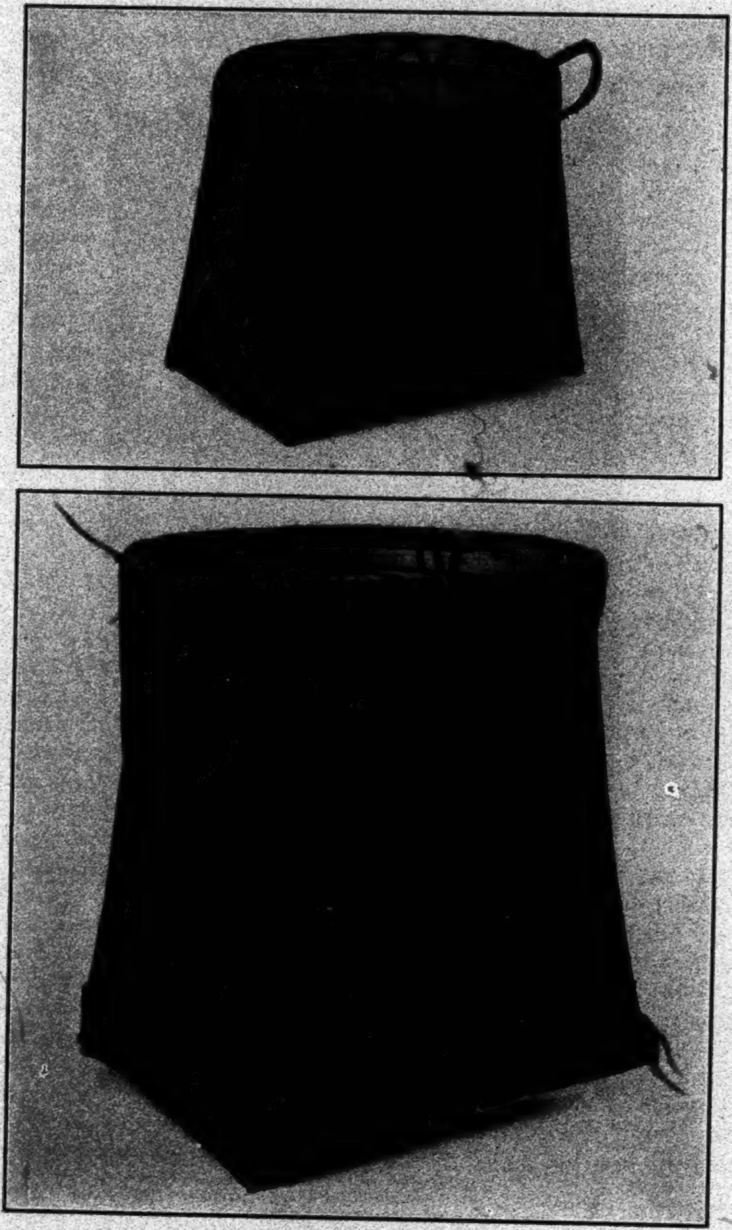

BIRCH-BARK BASKETS

Interior Salish.

them. Mats were used as seats and bedding;[11] others as food plates and for wrapping around goods.[12] They were like those of the Thompson. Mats were seldom made of willow bark, elaeagnus bark, and sage bark. Cedar bark was not used for mats, it seems, not even by the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made a great many mats of dry rushes, and sewed tule mats as well. At the present day mats are seldom made.

Ornamentation on mats was effected in the same way as among the Thompson. Different natural colors of the material were sorted out and woven into the mat in alternate stripes. Mats were also made of composite materials of different natural colors.[13] Sometimes dyed material was used, the common colors being different shades of red, brown, and blue.[14] An overlay of dyed material was also occasionally employed, laid on either straight[15] or in zigzags. The twine in the weaving of some mats was arranged in zigzags instead of straight lines, a form of ornamentation frequent among the Thompson.[16]

Weaving.—It is said that the Lake tribe made woven rabbit skin blankets and that also goat hair blankets were woven on a loom. (See also p. 328).

Woven Bags.—All the varieties of woven sacks used by the Thompson were also made by the Okanagon. The materials used were rushes, young tules, willow bark, elaeagnus bark, clematis bark, and Indian-hemp twine. A great many bags of different shapes were made of twine. The Similkameen people obtained their Indian hemp at a place below Keremeous; but it grew abundantly in many low places in the territories of the several tribes. Bags were made in close and open weaving. Common methods of weaving were the same as those of the Thompson.[17] Bags made in plain twining were also common. A few were decorated by the methods employed in mat ornamentation. Sometimes strips of braiding were introduced at intervals in the weaving;[18] and a few bags were made entirely of braids woven together, or, more rarely, sewed together.

Braids were of vegetal material and of hair.

There was almost, if not quite, as great a variety of shapes and styles of bags as among the Thompson. All the forms used by the Thompson about which I inquired were known to one or another of my informants. Oblong bags made of various kinds of matting, with ends inclosed in skin, were common. The mouths were laced or tied.[19]

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[11] See Thompson, c, p. 189, fig. 131, d.

[12] See Thompson, c, p. 189, fig. 131, e and f.

[13] See specimen in Ottawa collection, VI. M. 72.

[14] See ibid., VI. M. 73.

[15] For straight overlay, see Ottawa collection, VI. M. 73.

[16] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 70.

[17] c, p. 189, fig. 131, d, h, i.

[18] See Ottawa collection, Cat. No. 90.

[19] See Thompson, c, p. 202, fig. 160.

Other common bags had the backs longer than the fronts, the extension of the former making a cover.[30] Rush and twine bags for drying and storing berries and roots, especially service berries and huckleberries, were also common.[31] Some of these were round and had narrow mouths.[32] Rush bags and creels for holding small fish and fishing material were in use. Some of them had hoops around the mouths. Two shapes of stiff woven bags were used as mortar bags for crushing seeds. One was just like the Thompson bag used for the same purpose, while the other was much wider mouthed. Both had stiff rawhide bottoms, and were used in place of stone and wooden mortars, which were hard to transport. Woven bags were made in great numbers by the Sanpoil, the chief materials being Indian-hemp twine, rushes, the inside bark of the willow, and elaeagnus bark where obtainable. Elaeagnus bushes are said to have been much scarcer in their country than in the territories of the Okanagon and Thompson, and therefore this bark was seldom employed. The chief materials used by the Lake tribe in making woven bags seem to have been Indian-hemp twine and the inner bark of the cedar. Some cedar-bark bags were of very large size. A few bags are still made by most tribes.

Flat Bags.—Bags of the so-called "Nez Percé" type,[33] made of Indian-hemp twine, were manufactured by all the tribes. The Lake tribe claim that they made them formerly in considerable numbers, and state that they were made also by the Lower Kutenai. They were seldom ornamented in any way. Ornamentation on these bags was introduced from the south over a century ago, but was never fully adopted by the Lake tribe, who continued to make almost all their flat bags plain until they discontinued making them, about 1870 or 1875. The Lower Kutenai are said to make a few still. The Colville, Sanpoil, and Okanagon made a great many bags, and ornamented them with bulrush in natural green, yellow, and white colors, and also with flattened porcupine quills. Sometimes the rushes and quills were dyed. The ornamentation was generally in the nature of an overlay, showing only on the outside. Designs of different kinds were executed in these materials. The other tribes, especially the Okanagon, made some of their flat bags plain, like the Lake tribe. The Similkameen people made almost all their flat bags plain and obtained ornamented ones from the tribes to the south and east. A few of these bags are still made by the Nespelim and Sanpoil, but the other tribes no longer make them. Most of the flat bags used by the northern and central tribes nowadays are procured in trade, and are of Shahaptian make.

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[30] See Thompson, a, p. 203, fig. 152.

[31] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. 80.

[32] See Thompson, a, p. 202, fig. 150.

[33] See Thompson, a, p. 190, fig. 132, and Shuswap, c, p. 497, fig. 219.

Skin Bags.—The tribes made skin bags in all the styles in vogue among the Thompson. Most of them were ornamented with fringes and porcupine quillwork. It is doubtful if the square tobacco bag with eight bottom pendants was made. This type appears to be confined chiefly to the region along Fraser River, and was generally made of cloth.[34] The Coeur d'Alêne, however, claim to have made this style in cloth. As cloth could not be cut in fine fringes like buckskin, eight or ten coarse fringes were made, and their edges bound with ribbon.

Rawhide Bags and Parflèches.—The square, stiff hide bag with long side fringes[35] was common among all the tribes. The Colville, Sanpoil, and some of the Okanagon made and painted these bags in considerable numbers, but they also procured some in trade from the Kalispel and other tribes. The Lake and Similkameen people made only a few, and seldom painted them. The latter obtained their painted ones from the Okanagon and Columbia, and the Lake obtained theirs chiefly from the Kutenai. Very few are now made by these tribes; but the Kutenai, Kalispel, and Nez Percé are said to make a great many still. A few mortar bags for crushing seeds were made entirely of rawhide and were like the woven ones in shape. Parflèches of buffalo, horse, and other hide were made and used to a great extent by all the tribes except the Lake. They came into use shortly after the introduction of the horse. The Lake tribe used them very little, because they were almost entirely a canoe people. The Similkameen people did not paint parflèches, and made many of them without removing the hair. Most parflèches made by the Okanagon and Sanpoil were painted, as were all those procured in trade.

Another kind of parflèche was used sparingly by the Okanagon and perhaps by other tribes. It was square in shape, made of the entire skin of an animal doubled over. The tail part formed the cover, and separate pieces were sewed on for side pieces. The parflèche was made of scraped rawhide, except the tail or the point of the tail, which had the hair left on for ornament. Usually they were unpainted; but sometimes red lines were made along the seams and borders, and rarely also a few figures were painted on the front. They were used for packing on horses, in the same way as the common parflèches. Possibly they may be a modification of an old type of bag used for storing dried meat and fat, which antedated the introduction of the horse. The loops and holding stick inside may have been a later adaptation for horse travel. Before the days of horse packing, the sticks and loops would have been unnecessary in the common envelope parflèche also.

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[34] See Shuswap, c, pl. 13, fig. 1.

[35] See Shuswap, c, p. 498, fig. 220, and Thompson, c, p. 203, fig. 151.

BARK BASKETRY.—Baskets of birch bark were made by all the tribes. A few rough temporary vessels of bark of juniper, cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, and white pine were occasionally used. These were folded of one piece, and the mouth was kept open by hoops. The birch-bark baskets of the Okanagon and Sanpoil appear to have been made and shaped like those of the Thompson. Hoops were placed both inside and outside of the rim, or only on the inside. Birch-bark trays somewhat oblong in shape were also made occasionally, as well as birch-bark cups. Possibly the birch-bark baskets of the Lake tribe differed a little in form. The baskets were of all sizes, from a cup to that of a large bucket. The best ones are said to have been sewed very regularly at the ends and rims. Quills were occasionally used in stitching the latter. A zigzag sewing of splint was common on the poorer baskets.[26] Among the baskets which I saw among the Lake tribe the grain of the bark was generally at right angles to the rim instead of parallel, as usual among the Thompson, Shuswap, and Okanagon.[27] The sewing was of splint (cedar, spruce, etc.), and sometimes of bark and bark twine. The Lake baskets which I saw had overlapping side flaps, each being sewn separately, so that there were two parallel seams on the side of the basket. The rimrod was notched and sewed with a zigzag stitch, while the side seams were made of straight stitching. (Pl. 2.) The *Stuwi'x* of Similkameen made many birch-bark vessels of good workmanship. They seem to have been the same in details as those of the Thompson, but some people claim that they were made more neatly than most baskets of the Thompson and Okanagon.

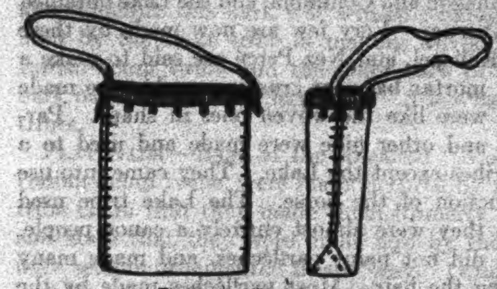

FIGURE 16.—Birch-bark basket

A deep, flat-sided basket, generally of birch bark, was sometimes made by the Lake tribe, and used for carrying berries, etc. The back and front were wide and the two sides were very narrow. Rods extended up each side and around the rim. (Fig. 16.) The Kutenai commonly used such baskets, the Colville and perhaps the Kalispel more rarely. Most baskets were plain. A few had designs formed by scraping off the outer layer of bark, and others had designs made by scorching and painting.

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[26] See Field Mus., Nos. 111080–111082.

[27] The few Kutenai birch-bark baskets that I have seen all had the bark parallel to the rim, like the Thompson baskets.

Coiled Basketry.[1]—Coiled basketry was made by all the tribes long ago. All the bands of the Lake made coiled basketry, and many individuals of nearly all bands of other tribes. Certain bands of some tribes in whose territory basketry material was scarce made little or no coiled basketry, but procured baskets from neighboring bands or tribes, who lived in a country where good basketry materials abounded. Thus the Okanagon made comparatively few baskets and procured a good many from the Thompson and Columbia. The Athapascan *Stuwi'x* were the only people who made no coiled baskets but procured them from the Thompson. Some Thompson who intermarried and lived with them made baskets. The Sanpoil made a good many baskets, but probably not sufficient for their requirements, as they also procured some from the Columbia. The Colville made baskets and also procured some from the Lake. As among the Thompson, cedar roots were preferred for baskets, and most were of this material. In places where good cedar roots were difficult to obtain spruce roots and juniper roots were used instead. The Sanpoil claim that good basketry material was scarce in their country, and they depended on collecting the rootlets of uprooted cedar, spruce, and juniper brought down the Columbia by the freshets, and which happened to strand on the shores of the river within their country. All the Lake coiled basketry was made of cedar and spruce roots, as there was an abundance of these trees in their country. The Sanpoil say that long ago there was no imbrication on baskets and that the process was introduced among them about the beginning of the last century. As imbrication commenced to be general about the time the first whites (fur traders) appeared, some Indians think the art has been learned from the whites, but this seems quite unlikely. It seems grass in its natural color was principally used in imbrication. Grass was also dyed, and simple designs were made. Other materials used in imbrication were the inside bark of the willow, cherry bark, stems of tule, and rarely cedar bark. The materials used by the Okanagon and Colville appear to have been the same as those in vogue among the Sanpoil. The Lake say that very long ago there was no imbrication, and they do not know exactly how or when it developed. Most people think it came from the south, and some think it must have been learned from the Lower Kutenai, but this again is quite unlikely. Imbrication, they say, has been used by themselves and the Lower Kutenai for at least three generations, but was never fully adopted. About 1860 when the making of coiled basketry had almost ceased, most baskets were plain. The Lake appear to have used grass entirely for imbrication. The grass stems were collected in the high mountains. Occasionally they were dyed. They say patterns were made entirely or almost entirely in black and white. The former color was dyed grass, according to some, and a different material according to others. (My informant had forgotten exactly what it was.) The same materials are said to have been used by the Lower Kutenai, Colville, and perhaps other tribes. The Lake say that an old woman residing in 1909 near Burton City is the only Lake they know of still living who has made coiled baskets; but all the other old women have seen their mothers and grandmothers making baskets. With the passing away of the past generation of old women basket making ceased excepting among a very few, such as the old woman mentioned. At the present day, as far as I could learn, no coiled baskets are made by any of these tribes. Baskets, however, are still used in some places; but they are almost altogether of Thompson, Columbia, and Klickitat makes. The Lake say their baskets were of some six or seven shapes and of many sizes. All were more or less circular, excepting one kind, which was oblong with rounded ends. They were long and rather low, and used for storing of provisions, clothes, small tools, etc., in the lodges. Angular forms were never known until quite lately. From descriptions by two women and a sketch made it seems they resembled the smaller of the older "*stlūq*" type or storage basket made by the Thompson. (*a*, fig. 143.) It is claimed that this type was in use about 1800. Burden baskets usually were not very large, and were shaped somewhat like a pail or kettle (*o*, fig. 26 *f*). Some had straight sides like a birch-bark basket (*o*, fig. 26 *e*), while others were smaller at the bottom and larger at the mouth (*o*, fig. 28 *a*). Some were made almost completely circular, but those most used for carrying purposes were a little flatter on two sides to prevent rolling. Some appear to have resembled a very old style of burden basket among the Thompson, which was quite similar to a kind still used by the Wenatchi. The baskets used as kettles were quite circular and somewhat basin-shaped, the mouth being much wider than the bottom. They were no doubt the same as the basket kettles of the Thompson, but possibly did not average as large in size, and they also appear to have been shallower (*o*, pl. 41 *j*). Cup and bowl shaped baskets (*o*, figs. 27 *e*, 28 *b*) were also made, and varied in size from that of an ordinary cup to others about as large as the kettle baskets. They were used as cups, bowls, water receptacles, storage baskets, kettle baskets, etc. Another kind was almost jar-shaped, the mouth being contracted slightly and the bottom comparatively large (similar to *o*, pl. 68 *a*, *b*.) The sides of some converged all the way up, but none had very small mouths. Some of them were used as workbaskets. They may also have been used as water baskets and for various purposes. The Lower Kutenai and perhaps some other neighboring tribes also used these shapes.

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[1] See 6, pp. 140-142.

Another shape of basket used was that called "nut-shaped" by the Thompson. It was usually small, and bulged out in the middle of the sides, the mouth and bottom being of about equal diameter. (*a*, fig. 145.) They were used by women as work and trinket baskets, etc. The Sanpoil say their burden baskets are similar to some of those made by the Wenatchi and Klickitat at the present day, while others resembled more some of those made by Thompson. None had square corners. All were very much rounded, but two sides were flatter and straighter to prevent rolling on the back. They were used for transportation of roots, berries, etc., and also for boiling. Some completely circular baskets were also used as kettles. They were almost barrel-shaped, and some were of large size. (*a*, pl. 68, *i*.) Small cup and bowl shaped baskets, it seems, were also made. I got no definite information as to other shapes, excepting that a basketry tray was much used, probably similar to that of the Thompson. Some were circular and others oblong. They were used for holding berries, etc., in the house, also as food platters and for passing around food. Their sides were from 10 to 12 cm. high, and generally flared a little. Some of the oblong ones were very long and used as fish dishes, being capable of holding a large roasted salmon at full length.

Ropes, Thread, and Nets.—Ropes were made of twisted Indian hemp of various lengths and thicknesses. Temporary ropes of grass were also made, chiefly of timber grass. Withes of willow were much used. Other ropes were made of strips cut out of rawhide, twisted or plaited. Softer ropes of twisted or braided dressed skin were also in use. After the introduction of the horse, ropes of horse hair twisted and plaited were much used. Fishing lines and sewing thread were made almost altogether of Indian-hemp twine. This was also the material for all kinds of nets. Twine was sometimes made of hair of buffalo, bear, and in some places possibly also of goat, but I could not learn for what particular uses. Sinew was employed for sewing. An arrowstone with notches was used for scraping rawhide thongs.

Woven Clothing.—Women's caps of the so-called "Nez Percé" type[a] were made by all the tribes except the Lake and the Similkameen. The Lake did not use them and the Similkameen obtained them in trade. The Lower Similkameen people may have made a very few. The Sanpoil made frequent use of them, and the Nespelim still make a few. Originally they were woven of Indian hemp, and fine bulrushes covered the outside. Ornamentation was usually effected by arranging the natural green and yellow shades of the rushes. Sometimes the rushes were dyed, reds and browns being the predominant colors. Flattened porcupine quills instead of rushes were also employed in the ornamentation of these caps. A few of the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and possibly the Colville, also made conical caps woven of the inside bark of the willow, rarely of other kinds of bark. These appear to have been the same as those used by some poor people among the Thompson.* In Similkameen they were woven entirely of rushes. Blankets woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by all the tribes. The Lake tribe also made woven goat's-wool and rabbit-skin robes; and they say that they made both these on the same kind of loom, which consisted of four plain sticks. Small blankets or cloaks of rushes were made occasionally by the Similkameen. In later days at least some of these had strips of fur and wool woven with the rushes, and some were edged with fur, buckskin, and cloth.

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[a] See Nez Percé, *b*, pl. 6, nos. 15, 16.

Designs on Bags.—I had little opportunity to obtain information regarding designs on bags. It seems that very little is remembered about them, and there were but few specimens at hand for examination. The Okanagon appear to give about the same interpretations of designs as the Thompson. The Lake tribe claim that they did not ornament their woven bags. The Nespelim and Colville say that designs were wrought in with grasses in natural colors—green, white, and yellow—and also with dyes and with porcupine quills.

Designs on Baskets.—I tried to procure some information on coiled basketry designs from the Lake tribe, but could get nothing very definite. They said that checks and short lines in black and white in various combinations constituted the bulk of the early designs, and these they think were only rarely given names. It seems that "beading" was done in lines.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

Underground Lodge.—The underground house of the Thompson and Shuswap was used more or less by all the tribes as a winter lodge, except by the Colville. Several informants said that the Colville never used them. The Lake say that they were used to a considerable extent by them long ago, and were called "earth lodges" or "earth-covered lodges." They say that none of the oldest Lake people now living ever used them; but they have been described by their parents, some of whom lived in them. They say that most of them were quite small, intended only for the use of one or two families. The entrance to all of them was through the top. The whole construction was similar to that of the underground house of the Thompson.[1] They were dug out to a depth of from 1 to 2 meters.

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* See Peabody Museum, Teit Collection, No. 491.

[1] 4, pp. 192-194, and figs. 125, 126; also pl. 15, figs. 1 and 2.

Sandy ground, where digging was easy and the soil dry, was chosen for sites. The Similkameen say that the underground winter lodge of the Thompson was used by them, but many people preferred to live in mat lodges during winter. Among the Okanagon the house with entrance from the top was used chiefly in the northern part of their country. The Sanpoil used very few, and most of the people wintered in mat lodges. A few underground houses with entrance on the side, but otherwise of the same construction, were used by Okanagon and Sanpoil. This style was common among the tribes on Columbia River to the south. The distribution of the underground house was mainly in a line following the east side of the Cascades, through the arid belt of the country, from the northern Shuswap, south along Fraser River, across the Thompson, Nicola, Similkameen, and Okanagon, to the Columbia, and from there south into Oregon.

Conical Lodge.—All the tribes used summer lodges made of tule mats laid on a framework of poles. These lodges were of two main types—circular and oblong. The circular mat tent was most common, and was looked upon as the family house.[2] As a rule, they were not very large, and the poles were arranged on a three-pole foundation. They were also used a great deal in the wintertime, when they were covered with from two to four layers of mats instead of one, as in the summer. They were usually occupied by one or two families, and when well covered were warm and quite snow and rain proof.

Square or Square-topped Lodge.—The Lake also used a type of lodge the poles of which did not meet in the center, as in a tent.[3] The four main poles converged somewhat, like the rafters of an underground lodge, forming a square or slightly oblong smoke hole. The base of the lodge was generally quite circular, but in some may have been inclined to squareness. In some lodges the smoke hole was oblong rather than square. I did not learn whether all the tribes used these lodges, but the Okanagon did to a slight extent. I have called these lodges "square-topped lodges," although the ground plan is circular. Some are constructed almost exactly like the underground house, but above ground and with much lighter materials.

Long Lodge.—The long or oblong lodge was a single lean-to, and some of them were of great length. The fires were along the open front. This lodge was usually covered with but a single layer of mats, and was a temporary shelter made to accommodate people assembled at fishing places or at other gatherings. If more comfort were required, another lean-to was erected facing it; and the ends were rounded off and filled in with poles, over which mats or brush were laid.[4] The double lean-to lodge was used at any season of the year for the accommodation of large numbers of visitors, at feasts, and for dancing. People did not usually live in them in the winter, except a few young men and other people temporarily. The Lake tribe say that this type of lodge went out of use among them a long time ago, but that formerly it was in use for the accommodation of strangers, visitors, and when communities camped together temporarily, as at fishing and other resorts in the fair season. They were in favor because they could accommodate many people, and required a lesser number of mats than tents. They were used by parties when traveling, who when they returned home always lived in tents. The mat tent or circular lodge was the family house of the tribe.

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[2] For the common style of framework of the conical lodge, see Thompson, c, pl. 16, fig. 2, and Ottawa photo No. 27072; for a mat-covered conical lodge, see Ottawa photo no. 26022; for a poor type, where poles are scarce, see Thompson, c, pl. 15, fig. 1.

[3] See Thompson, c, p. 197, figs. 128, 129, and pl. 16, fig. 1.

BARK AND OTHER LODGES.—Among the Lake tribe all shapes of lodges, including the conical lodge or tent and the square-topped lodge, were often covered with bark instead of mats. Cedar bark peeled in spring was mostly used. The strips were generally arranged up and down, with the inside of the bark out. In a few cases the bark may have been placed horizontally and overlapping, being kept in place by tying and with poles laid against the outside. It seems that the Sanpoil and Colville used no bark-covered lodges and the Okanagon only very few. In places where good bark was scarce, lodges, especially circular ones, were covered with brush and hay or a mixture of poles, bark, brush, and hay. Brush houses and shelters were used by parties of all the tribes when hunting or trapping in the high mountains. Some of them were slightly oblong, with square or oblong smoke holes; and others had a smoke hole like that of the tent. Some were covered entirely with brush, while others had a covering of brush, grass, bark, and poles mixed.[5] Among the Okanagon they were often banked up around the outside with earth to a height of about 1 meter.[6] Often snow was used instead in the winter. The inside of winter lodges was excavated to a depth of about 15 centimeters or more below the surface of the ground. The floor was smoothed. The earth from the excavation was used for banking around the bottom of the lodge on the outside. Pieces of bark were placed between the mats and the earth. Women's lodges consisted of small mat tents,[7] half-tents, open in front, and small lean-to shelters, generally under trees. They were covered with old mats and, in the mountains, with brush. The lodges of adolescent girls were always conical, generally well made, and quite small. They were usually made of fir brush,[8] but sometimes of mats. Among the Lake tribe, many were covered with bark. The floors of lodges in the higher hills were covered with fir boughs or balsam boughs. Among the Lake tribe cedar boughs and hemlock boughs were also used. In the lower country, where fir was not handy, the dead needles of yellow pine were used for this purpose. Occasionally grass or swamp hay and rushes were used as floor covering. Bed places were further covered with mats or skins, which were rolled up at the head of the bed when not in use. In the daytime this roll of bedding and added clothes formed a back rest. No regular back rests, as among the Blackfoot, were used. Skin tents were used by the Okanagon tribes after the neighboring tribes had begun to hunt on the plains. Before that, only rarely was a skin lodge obtained in trade. Later on they became common among the Colville and to a less extent among the Sanpoil. The Lake and Similkameen never used them. The Okanagon adopted them to a limited extent only. After the extinction of the buffalo they were replaced by tents made of canvas, duck, and drilling. Several styles of the white man's tent, and also the canvas tipi, are used by these tribes at the present day. The canvas tipi is employed more in the southern part of the country and tents in the north. A few mat, bark, and brush lodges are still used occasionally among the Lake tribe. The permanent home nowadays is usually a log cabin or a board house modeled after the pattern of the houses of the whites.

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[4] See Thompson, c, p. 197, figs. 137 and 142. Also used by the Coeur d'Alêne.

[5] See Ottawa photos nos. 26165, 26166.

[6] Ibid., nos. 26983, 26981.

[7] Ibid., no. 27067.

[8] Ibid., nos. 26976, 26977, 27072.

Sweat Houses.—Sweat houses were everywhere of the same kind as among the Thompson. Some of those near permanent dwellings were earth-covered.[9]

Cellars.—Caches and cellars were the same as those of the Thompson. Tree caches, scaffold caches, and circular cellars or pits in the ground were all used.

Household Utensils.—Household utensils consisted principally of baskets built up by coiling or made of birch bark, woven mats, and bags of various kinds. The materials and structure of all these have already been described. Beds consisted of a thick layer of the same materials as those used for lodge floors. They were covered with mats, which were often further covered with skins of bear, buffalo, sheep, deer, or other animals. Bed covering consisted of various kinds of robes. The head of the bed was elevated a little with a heap of brush or grass underneath the bedding. Some pillows were also used, made of small bags of dressed skin stuffed with bulrush down or with small feathers. I did not learn with certainty about the use of hammocks. Possibly some were used for babies. The methods of boiling and roasting, and of cooking, storing food and water were in no way different from those which obtained among the Thompson.

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[9] See Thompson, e, pl. 17, figs. 1-3.

It seems that wooden dishes were not used, except small bowls and cups hollowed out of knots. Some bowls and dishes and many spoons[11] were made of mountain sheep's horn, especially by the Okanagon. A few spoons of goat and buffalo horn were also in use, and in later days those of cow's horn. Wooden spoons were made occasionally,[12] chiefly of poplar and birch. Spoons were also made of stiff bark.[13] In the main camps boiling was done with hot stones in coiled baskets. In temporary camps and on hunting expeditions bark kettles were used when bark was obtainable, else paunches of animals were made to serve. Temporary kettles were made of the bark of cedar, willow, spruce, balsam, white pine, etc., whichever was most easily obtained in the locality where they camped. Holes dug in hard clay and natural cavities in rocks were sometimes utilized.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Dress.—The clothing of the Okanagon tribes was much like that of the Upper Thompson. The full dress generally consisted of moccasins, long leggings, belt, breechclout or apron, shirt, and cap or headband for the men; and moccasins, short leggings, long dress, and cap or headband for the women. Belts were also worn by many of the latter. Extra clothing, consisting of robes, was used when necessary by both sexes. People never went barefoot, except within and near the lodge or when at leisure around the camp. In warm weather around the camps many men and children went partly nude. Clothes were made of dressed skins of deer, elk, buffalo, antelope, caribou, and moose. Sheepskins were seldom dressed, because considered too fragile; and goatskins were not even used for bedding. Most skins were dressed without the hair, except those intended for robes. The Thompson considered the Okanagon a well-dressed people; meaning that their dress was nearly always of the best quality and style. They nearly all dressed alike, using the same cuts and styles of clothes, ornamented in the same way. This was taken as an indication of wealth and good taste. On the other hand, it is said that the Thompson were not as uniform in their dress, there being much greater variety in quality and style. Also some individuals were careless or peculiar in their dress, and some others were too poor to dress correctly. Possibly, however, the chief reason may have been that the Thompson were more under different influences than the Okanagon, styles from west, north, east, and south all reaching them to some extent.

Robes and Capes.—Every one had one or more robes to wear, as conditions required, and to sleep in. Probably the most common robes were those made of skins of deer, fawn, antelope, buffalo, beaver, otter, marmot, coyote, and lynx, all dressed in the hair. Robes woven of twisted strips of rabbit skin were made and worn by all the tribes. Probably a few of twisted strips of muskrat were also in use. Robes or blankets woven of goat's wool were made and used only by the Lake tribe. Probably a few of these blankets were procured from the Wenatchi, and used by Okanagon as bedcovers. Dogskin robes were not worn, except by the Similkameen. A few robes of dressed buckskin, painted and embroidered, were used, especially in fine weather and at festivals. Small robes or cloaks were worn by a few people of both sexes, but probably mostly by women and children. Some woven ones were used by the Similkameen.[1] Cloaks were tied or pinned in front. Capes of a small size, and made to fit the shoulders, were used in a few places by women and children, rarely by men. Most cloaks and capes were made of skins of small animals, dressed in the hair and sewed together—marmot, skunk, squirrel, ground squirrel, muskrat, mink, marten, weasel, and young fawn. A few were made of woven rabbit skin, and some were of dressed buckskin edged with fur. Some combined shirts and capes were used by the Lake tribe. The underpart of the garment was a sleeveless shirt of buckskin, sewed at the sides from the armpits to the waist or belt. The bottom was pinked or fringed and ornamented with a band of embroidery or painting. The upper part, or cape, was attached to the back of the neck of the shirt and was of buckskin edged with fur. The neck part was ornamented with a collar of skin, sometimes of leather pinked and embroidered, sometimes of the fur of fox, wolf, otter, etc. Some capes had long, fine-cut fringes along the bottom, and were further ornamented with pendent feathers of eagles or hawks, or with tassels of hair, weasel skins, and the like. Sometimes the whole cape was profusely covered with rows of ermine skins put on flat or cut and twisted into long pendants. Tufts of hair and feathers were also used, and some capes were punctured all over with rows of small holes. Usually the shirt was provided with a belt of stiff skin, which was set with pendants of deer's hoofs, beads, hair tassels, feathers, or strips of ermine skins. Sometimes both large and small robes were worn poncho style.

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[11] See Ottawa collection, Nos. 125, 127.

[12] See Thompson, a, p. 204, fig. 188.

[13] See Ottawa collection, No. 126, a juniper-bark spoon.

Men's Clothing.—Men's shirts and leggings were similar to some of the styles used by the Thompson. A common shirt was made of two doeskins sewed together heads up. Sometimes the shoulders only were sewed together, the sides being provided with lacings, or merely held together with a few stitches of thong. The neck pieces of the skins were folded down at the back and front, where they were stitched or sewed to the body of the shirt. Usually they were shaped into circular or triangular forms and ornamented with embroidery and fringing. A few shirts retained the tails, or at least the one at the back, and the parts of the leg skins shaped into points or cut square, a little of the deer's-leg hair being left on for tufts at the ends. The seams of these shirts were embroidered and fringed. These shirts, in both cut and style of ornamentation, appear to have been almost the same as the Nez Percé shirt figured by Wissler.[2] Another common shirt was made of a single large skin folded over and sewed at the sides, and sometimes stitched here and there under the arms. A hole was cut and shaped in the middle for the head to pass through. There was no breast cut. The fringes along the sides and under the arm pieces were sometimes very long. Separate pieces of skin, triangular in shape and covered with embroidery in quills or beads, or punctured and painted, were sewed to the shirt at the front and back of the neck.[3] Neither of these kinds had true sleeves. In more modern times many men's shirts had sleeves, and they were of different styles. (Fig. 17.)

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[1] See p. 224.

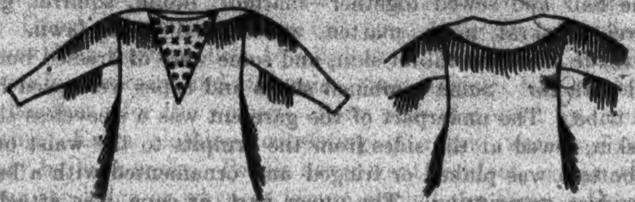

FIGURE 17.—Sketch illustrating cut of modern clothing

The one shown in the illustration is a leather shirt seen by me among the Lake tribe. Each sleeve was of two pieces, and the back and front each of two pieces. The shirt was cut low on the breast, and over this opening a separate piece of white unsmoked skin was fastened to the shirt with metal buttons. This piece of skin was triangular in shape and embroidered with flower designs in colored silk. The sleeves were smaller at the wrists, just large enough to admit the hands. All the seams were fringed.

Some men wore, instead of the regular shirts, a kind of vest. In most cases this reached only to the hips and was made generally of buffalo and other skin dressed in the hair. This kind of poncho shirt or vest was tied or laced at the sides with thongs.[4] In later days some of them opened a short distance down the breast.[5] Breast cuts on vests and shirts are considered comparatively modern. A similar garment, but much longer, reaching generally to the knees, was in use. Most garments of this style were made of two entire deerskins and were fastened around the waist with a belt.[6] Perhaps they may be better classed as ponchos. Some boys of the Sanpoil wore shirts of an entire case-skinned coyote skin with the head part cut off. The shirt (or skin) slipped over the head and was fastened with strings on the shoulder. The tail hung at the back. There was no sewing on this kind of shirt, except that the shoulders were sometimes edged with buckskin to prevent tearing where the tie strings were. Some Sanpoil men wore shirts made of four backs of coyote skins sewed together. The tails were often retained for ornament. In some cases two coyote skins were used, forming back and front, the sides consisting of dressed buckskin. The tails were generally retained, particularly the back one.[7] Shirts of this kind were probably also worn to some extent by men of the other tribes.

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[2] 4, fig. 1.

[3] See Thompson, 4, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible]; and Ottawa collection, VI. M. [illegible].

[4] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. [illegible]; Peabody Museum, Teit collection nos. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

[5] See Thompson, 4, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible]. Both the collar and breast cut are said to have been introduced within [illegible] years.

[6] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. [illegible]; Peabody Museum, Teit collection no. [illegible].

Small ponchos serving the purpose of neck wraps and covering the opening of shirts on the shoulders were worn by some men over their shirts. They consisted of single skins (in the fur) of coyote, wolf, fox, lynx cat, bear cub. The tail was retained and hung down the back.[8] Some neck wraps of entire rabbit skins sewed together were used in the winter by both sexes.

Breechclouts were of soft dressed buckskin and were of styles similar to those of the Thompson. Long ago those made of a single long piece drawn under the belt, the ends hanging like long aprons before and behind, were most rare. Some people think this style was adopted after Hudson's Bay cloth and blankets came into use. Old men and boys might wear simple aprons of dressed skin and fur, sometimes quite long, without breechclouts. Sometimes the long shirts worn by old men reached nearly to the knees. With these they wore neither breechclouts nor aprons, but with short shirts they were always worn. The usual skin leggings generally had long fringes cut in various ways. Cloth leggings had wide uncut side flaps.

Women's Clothing.—Women's dresses reached to the calves of the legs, and some almost touched the feet. The style of dress most common had an extension of the cape or shoulder part, which hung down over the arms almost to the wrists, and served as sleeves.[9] In some the extension was short, reaching to the elbow. The arm extensions were often quite loose, while in other dresses they were fastened under the arms with thongs here and there. These dresses were generally made of two large buckskins or two cow-elk skins sewed together heads down. Unlike the Shahaptian custom, the tails of the deer were cut off instead of being retained for ornament. According to the description these dresses agreed, except for the retaining of the tails, with the Yakima specimen figured by Wissler.[10] In place of the tails the Okanagon generally inserted a triangular piece of beading or other ornamentation. A few dresses with full-length sleeves sewed on [11] were worn. A few dresses had no sleeves at all, the arms being bare to the shoulders. A very few young girls and old women wore no dresses, but instead fringed bodices or skirts of skin reaching to the knees or below. Some of these had high bodies which were fastened at the shoulders, but the bodies of others extended hardly above the waist. The low-bodied kind were worn also by nearly all well-dressed women under their dresses. A bodice alone was not considered a complete dress. Narrow breechclouts were worn by some girls, and also by women, during menstruation. Women's leggings were like those of the Thompson. When traveling in deep snow some women wore long leggings nearly like those of the men. A very few poor people of the Similkameen wore short leggings woven of tule or rushes.

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[7] See Ottawa collection, VI. M. [illegible].

[8] See Thompson, a, pl. 12.

[9] See d, fig. 15.

[10] See d, fig. 15.

Footwear.—Moccasins were of dressed buckskin, elk skin, etc., cut in two styles that were about equally common. One consisted of a single piece folded and sewed around the toe, the outside of the foot, and at the heel.[12] The other style had a separate small tongue piece, a seam extending from the latter to the toe, and a seam down the heel.[13] In a few the ends of the toe and the heel seams were puckered. Therefore they had no trailers.[14] All moccasins had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece.

The trailers of moccasins were cut in styles similar to those of the Thompson.

The Lake were not familiar with the cut shown in *a*, Figure 170 (Thompson), although a form similar to it, with tongue piece brought to a point at the toe, is often used by the Kutenai.

In Similkameen the common cuts were seamed down the instep and open at the heel.[15] Some trailers were cut in a fringe. Summer moccasins were more pointed and made to fit the foot. Those for winter use were much looser to give room for heavy foot wraps. These consisted of pieces of skin in the hair wrapped round the foot or sewed like a duffle. The Similkameen used a few socks,[16] made like the sage-bark socks of the Thompson, and possibly boots woven of tule. Moccasins were often padded with dry teased bark and grass. In the wintertime some people wore moccasins made of deer, caribou, buffalo, and other skins, hair side in. No moccasins of the long-tongued round-toed type [17] were used long ago. This style was introduced by the Iroquois and French. Moccasins with a wide crosscut at the toe [18] seem to have been confined to Similkameen. Sandals were used by some poor people in the summertime. They were made of skin or of rawhide, and sometimes the soles were thickened with a coat of glue and sand.

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[11] See Thompson a, p. 215, fig. 196.

[12] See Thompson, a, p. 210, fig. 169.

[13] See Thompson, a, p. 211, fig. 171.

[14] See Thompson, a, p. 211, fig. 172.

[15] See Thompson, a, p. 211, fig. 173, Nos. 1, 2.

[16] See Thompson, a, p. 212, fig. 174.

[17] See Thompson, a, p. 210, fig. 170.

[18] See Tahltan specimens, Ottawa, VI. H. 43.

HAND WEAR.—Gloves were unknown long ago; but mittens, both long and short, were used in cold weather. Most of them were made of coyote and other skins in the fur.

MEN'S HEADWEAR.—Men's caps and headbands were made of dressed skin and of skins in the fur of almost all kinds of animals. Some were also made of bird skins. The styles were the same as those of the Thompson, including caps of animals' headskins, and those set with antlers of deer, or horns of antelope, goat, and buffalo.

Headdresses of tail feathers of eagles, hawks, and owls were common, and similar to those of the Thompson. Eagle-feather bonnets of the style used on the plains were common during the past century, and are still worn to some extent at dances. This style differed in some details from the oldest styles of eagle-feather headdresses of the Thompson and Okanagon. Feather "tails" both of the Thompson and plains styles were in vogue.

WOMEN'S HEADWEAR.—Women's headbands and most caps were of dressed skin. The caps were more or less conical in shape, and in details were like those of the Thompson.[19] Flat-topped caps were not used. Woven caps, called by many whites "grass caps," of the so-called "Nez-Percé" style, were in common use, except among the Lake and Similkameen.[20] Caps of willow bark were used a little by Similkameen, Okanagon, and Sanpoil, but it seems were not known to the Lake, and may not have been used by the Colville either. The Similkameen probably also used a few caps woven of tule or rushes.[21]

OVERCLOTHES, ETC.—Robes, ponchos, and cloaks were worn as overclothes in cold weather. It seems that no rain cloaks and short ponchos of woven vegetal material were used, except among the Similkameen. The cloaks worn by them have been described.[22] Some people put ordinary woven mats over their heads, shoulders, and backs in heavy rains. It appears that no clothing of vegetal material, except women's caps, were used by any of the other tribes. The Lake, who used cedar bark extensively for a number of purposes, did not use it for clothing. Before the advent of the fur traders, jackets, coats, and trousers were probably not made, and some say there were no sleeves to shirts and dresses. Possibly short buckskin trousers were used by Similkameen and Nicola in early times.

After many of the western Indians began to hunt on the plains buffalo robes and skins became quite common, and largely supplanted other robes, cloaks, and ponchos. For a time buffalo skin was so plentiful that even as far north as Similkameen it was cheaper than ordinary buckskin.

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[19] a, p. 217, fig. 191.

[20] See p. 226.

[21] See also Shuswap, p. 505, c, fig. 228.

[22] See p. 231.

Belts were worn by almost all the men and by many women. Garters were much used by both sexes, and, to a less extent, armlets.

Some double-pointed brooches of bone, antler, and wood—similar in type to a clothes pin with pointed ends—are said to have been used by the Similkameen. It seems that some of these had carved heads.

Ornamentation of Clothing.—Ornamentation of clothing was the same as among the Thompson, and consisted chiefly of fringing, pinking, puncturing, painting, and embroidering with porcupine quills, seeds, hoofs, shells, and elk's teeth. In later days glass beads and silk thread displaced entirely the quill and other embroidery. Hair and skin were used for tassels and fringes. Ermine skins were often attached to garments and headdresses. Some capes were entirely covered with rows of them. Capes and clothes were often ornamented with feathers, bird skins, tufts of bird skin and fur, and deer's tails. Deerskin robes had the hair cut in stripes, as among the Thompson.[30]

Personal Adornment.—In personal adornment these tribes appear to have differed very little, if at all, from the Thompson. The same styles of necklaces, earrings, and hair ribbons were used; and the styles of hairdressing and face and body painting were about the same. Nose-pins of shell and bone were used by a few people of both sexes. They went out of style soon after the arrival of the fur traders. Combs were of fan shape, like those of the Thompson,[31] and, when obtainable, were made of syringa wood. Tweezers were like those of the Thompson.[32] Tattooing was in vogue to a slight extent in both sexes, most marks being made on the wrists and forearms. A very few tattooed the face and other parts of the body. On the whole, women tattooed more than men. Face and body painting was the same, or almost the same, as among the Thompson. The same colors and styles were in vogue. The various styles of hairdressing appear to have been about the same as among the Thompson. Since about 1900 or 1906 almost all the Lake, Colville, Upper Okanagon, and Similkameen men cut their hair short. Most of the young men crop their hair quite as closely as the whites, while many of the elderly men cut it square across the neck. Among the Lower Okanagon, Nespelim, and Sanpoil, the majority of the men, both young and old, still wear[33] their hair long and in braids. A few old men of the Colville and Upper Okanagon also wear their hair long in two or three styles. Nearly all the people of all the tribes now wear white man's clothing. A few old people (especially men) of the Lower Okanagon and Sanpoil wear old-style clothing, such as leggings, more or less modified. Moccasins are generally worn in all the tribes. Many Indians have old-style costumes and ornaments, which they will rarely part with and which they use occasionally at celebrations.

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[30] a, pl. 13. [31] a, p. 224, figs. 201-203. [32] a, p. 227, fig. 210. [33] This refers to 1909.

V. SUBSISTENCE

FOOD.—The food of the Okanagon tribes differed but little from that of the Thompson. The proportions of the different foods used were about the same, as well as the methods of collection. Nearly all the families moved about a good deal from one place to another, within their respective tribal territories, fishing, hunting, root digging, and berrying, according to the season at which each principal item of food supply was at its best. Usually each band was able to procure a sufficiency of all kinds of food on its own particular grounds; but some families occasionally, and others regularly, went farther afield into the remotest parts of the tribal territory, hunting and trapping. Some other families who did more or less trading made regular trips to certain tribal and intertribal rendezvous, passing through parts of the territories of other tribes. If conditions were favorable, hunting was engaged in going and returning from these places, generally within their own territory, but sometimes on grounds of the tribes visited. Sometimes young men of other families accompanied these parties for love of adventure and to see the country. Thus there were few Okanagon who had not at some time been within the countries of the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokan, Wenatchi, Columbia, Thompson, and Shuswap, and a few had been to other tribes beyond. In some parts of the country the chief means of sustenance was hunting, in other parts fishing, while in many places these two were of about equal importance. Flesh of horses was eaten a great deal at one time, but it seems that no dogs were eaten.[1]

Vegetal food.—Root digging and berrying were important everywhere. All the edible berries used by the Thompson were gathered in localities where they grew. The berries considered most important for curing, and therefore collected in largest quantities, were service berries (*Amelanchier*), soapberries (*Shepherdia*), huckleberries (*Vaccinium*), and in some places cherries (*Prunus*). Huckleberries were very plentiful in the Lake country, where in great measure they took the place of service berries, which were most important to the other tribes.

Most of the roots used by the Thompson were used also by the Okanagon tribes, and a few others that do not grow in the Thompson country. The importance of various roots varied according to locality. On the whole, the roots considered most important were *Camassia esculenta*, *Lewisia rediviva*, *Balsamorrhiza sagittata*, *Lilium columbianum*, *Erythronium grandiflorum*, and *Fritillaria lanceolata*. Hazelnuts were utilized a great deal, especially by the Colville, in whose country they were plentiful. Nutlets of two or three kinds of pine, and seeds of *Balsamorrhiza* and two or three other unidentified plants, were used extensively in many places.

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[1] According to some, dogs were eaten occasionally by old Similkameen people.

Oak did not grow in the territories of these tribes. It was confined to Columbia River and some of its tributaries farther south. Different kinds of tree saps and sprouts of growing plants were used in season, as among the Thompson. Following is a list of the principal vegetal foods of the Okanagon. I give both the Okanagon and the Thompson names for comparison.

	Okanagon name	Thompson name
ROOTS		
Camassia esculenta (camas)	*i'txwa, ī'txwa*	*ẹ'txwa*
Lewisia rediviva Pursh (bitterroot).	*spị'tlam*	*tl'kū'pᴇn*
Allium cernuum	*xalā'wa, xalē'ua*	*kala'ua*
Claytonia sessilifolia	*skwenkuī'nᴇn, skwᴇnkuī'nᴇm*	*tatū'ᴇn*
Fritillaria pudica	*ẹ'tamen*	*xala'uxᴇn*
Sium lineare	*cpei'kᴇn*	*welsama't*
Lilium columbianum	*stegici'n*	*tcī'wᴇk*
Ferula dissoluta	*ai.yu'*	*teqqei'n.*
Balsamorrhiza sagittata Nutt.	*tsa'ltsalᴇkᴇn*	*smī'lkᴇn* (root) *tsbā'nalp* (plant)
Peucedanum macrocarpum Nutt.	*smitsenā'lkᵘ*	*kokwē'la*
Calochortus macrocarpus Dougl.	*pekiyu'kᴇps*	*maqoē'za*
Cyperus uniflorus	*xa'nᴇxpan*	*xenᴇxei'n*
Erythronium grandiflorum	*s-hwe'wᴇ*	*ska'meic*
Fritillaria lanceolata	*smē'la*	*mē'la*
Potentilla anserina	*xī'laxil*	*xī'laxil*
Hydrophyllum occidentale[1]	*stlᴇnqei'n*	*stlᴇnqei'.n*
	tlaka'n	*ma.eē'i, mᴇtcē't*
Cnicus undulatus Gray	*smᴇxwalkwalā'etᴇn*	*skalis'po'* (plant)[2] *n'po'poqᴇn* (root) *xwē'pis* (?).
——	*sqepkē'lᴇm*	*tsepī'as*
——	*srā'tca'ks, nhā'tca'ks*	*rātcē'us, hātcei'us*
BERRIES		
Amelanchier alnifolia Nutt.	*st'a*	*stsa'qum, stcoqqm*
Amelanchier sp.	*skikisē'leq*	*spēkpēk.*
Prunus demissa Walpers	*xle'x.leq*	*stīkā', stīkā'.*
Sambucus sp.	*tsakwē'kᵘ*	*tcē'kuk*
Crataegus rivularis Nutt.	*sxwewē'k*	*ē'luska*
Cornus pubescens Nutt.	*stī'kaxᵘ*	*tᴇxpē'z*
Rubus sp. (raspberry)	*xlē'la*	*stī'itsq*
Rubus leucodermis Dougl.	*tsatcē'ᴇk*	*stī'tcuk, stī'tcak*

[1] Said not to grow in the Okanagon country.

[2] Compare *kaliope', kaliope'tam* (*kaliope'.m, kaliope'*), according to Revais, names among *Flathead* tribes for sprouting camas.

	Okanagon name	Thompson name
BERRIES—continued		
Ribes sp. (red gooseberry)	*.nie'tçxmelps*	*aze'tsi'n*
Ribes lacustre Poir (black gooseberry).	*epxapā's*	*sōpā's, sōxpā's*
Ribes cereum (wild currant)	*iā'rzkan*	*lāā'za*
Shepherdia canadensis Nutt.	*sxō'ssm*	*sxō'ssm, .s-ho'ssm*
Fragaria californica C and S.	*tukei'm kem*	*skokiē'p.*
Vaccinium membranaceum Dougl.	*sitxē'lk*	*tsaltsē'la*
Vaccinium myrtillus (small blueberry), var. *microphyllum* Hook.	*s.sē'pi*	*d'maaz* [*]
Berberis sp. (Oregon grape)	*ssisē'res* [3]	*tsa'lza, tsē'lsa*
Arctostaphylos uva-ursi Spreng.	*skwolē's*	*d'izk, d'ik, ei'zk.*
Rosa sp.	*skwēkwe'u*	*sieaka'pēl, skōkwa'u* (var. of rose)
SEEDS AND OTHER VEGETAL FOODS		
Haselnuts	*qe'puza*	*qapā'ç*
Pinus ponderosa (yellow pine) nutlets or seeds, also of other pines.	*sqa'uku*	*s'isē'q.*
Balsamorrhiza sagittata, seeds.	*mī'kio*	*mī'kio*
Comandra pallida, seeds or nuts.	*qepuq(e'lip)*	*qapuqē'lp*
Pinus contorta, cambium layer.	*ska'kuluk*	*n'tā.*
Pinus ponderosa, cambium layer.	*tse'xwe, tsā'xe*	*tse'xwe*
Heracleum lanatum, growing stalks.	*xopē'lp*	*hā'qo*
Peucedanum sp., growing stalks.	*kwa'xkwaz* [1]	*tlā'qo*
Alectoria jubata (black moss)	*skolē'p* [2]	*a.wē'.a,*
Opuntia sp. (cactus)	*sxwē'na*	*s'qx'qē'rs*
Tree-sugar [3]	*skamē'lk* [4]	*skamē'lk*
Elaeagnus argentea, seeds [5]	*sxpokiē'xp*	*kwoiskai'naxan*
Snowberries [6]	*sixmixmaie'la*	*ske'kwa aaaiyē'*

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[1] Compare Coeur d'Alêne for wild carrot.

[2] Compare Lillooet for black moss.

[3] A very sweet, sugary exudation which forms in cakes on the needles and branches of fir, and occasionally pine, in mid and late summer in the driest parts of the country.

[4] Means "tree milk."

[5] Seeds of this and of the cactus were probably never eaten; but they were used extensively as beads for necklaces and in the ornamentation of clothing, as among the Thompson.

[6] These were not eaten.

Root diggers.—Root diggers were of service berry and other hard woods. The points were often charred to harden them. Handles were chiefly of birch; but horns of sheep and goats and antlers of elk and deer were also used. The shapes and ornamentation of root diggers, at least among the Okanagon, were like those of the Thompson. The "bow-shaped" root-digger handle of ram's horn was not used except among the Similkameen and possibly a few of the Okanagon. The Similkameen claim that this style of handle was invented by the Thompson and introduced by them. Berries were gathered in woven baskets, bark baskets, and bark trays.

Preparation and preservation of staple foods.—The methods of preparing and preserving staple foods were practically the same as among the Thompson. Circular earth ovens or pits were used for cooking roots. Oblong and square scaffolds of poles were used for drying meat and fish. Dried meat and fat were stored in rawhide bags, and oil and melted fat in bladders. Salmon and other fish were split and dried in the sun and wind. Some people preferred to dry them in windy shady places or under the shade of screens of brush, leaves, and mats. Meat and fish were also dried with the assistance of fire and smoke. Berries were usually dried, spread thinly on tule mats laid on dry gravelly ground facing the sun, or on mats on scaffolds. Some salmon pemmican was made, and a little meat pemmican. Cooked roots of certain kinds were mashed in mortars, made into cakes, and dried. Sometimes the mashed roots were mixed with dry service berries. Seeds of *Balsamorrhiza sagittata* were roasted in baskets with hot stones. The seeds were turned over and over and fresh stones added until the seeds were done. They were then transferred to a mortar bag and pounded with stone pestles until they became a coarse flour. Nowadays they are heated in frying pans over a fire.

A common kind of scaffold for drying meat used by the Okanagon, Similkameen, and probably also the Sanpoil and Colville, was made of long willow rods bent over to form a half circle, as in a sweat house, and crossed with others at right angles. (Fig. 18.) Some were made completely round, like a large sweat house. This type of meat-drying frames was not much used by the Thompson. Both Okanagon and Thompson used the frames of ordinary sweat houses when the quantity of meat was small and they wanted to dry it quickly.

HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The weapons employed in the pursuit of game were chiefly bows and arrows for shooting, and knives for stabbing wounded animals and for cutting up the quarry. Clubs and spears were not important in hunting, and were used only occasionally. Arrows were of the same kinds as among the Thompson.[1]

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[1] 6, p. 242, fig. 222.

Arrow-heads were generally of flaked stone, but some of bone, notched and unnotched, were in use. The bow in most common use by all the tribes was that with double curve.[3] The Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville employed it exclusively. The Lake say that two kinds of bows were used by them; the double-curved and the flat bow.[4] The former was that chiefly used by themselves and by all the surrounding Salishan tribes, while the latter was the only kind used by the Lower Kutenai. The Similkameen say that their common bow was of the double-curved type, but all the styles of bow made by the Thompson were employed to some extent by them. Bows were generally a meter long or a little more; and all the best ones were sinew-backed and covered with snake skin. In most parts of the country juniper was the common bowwood, and service berry and rose woods were most used for arrows. Short bows of mountain-ram's horn were

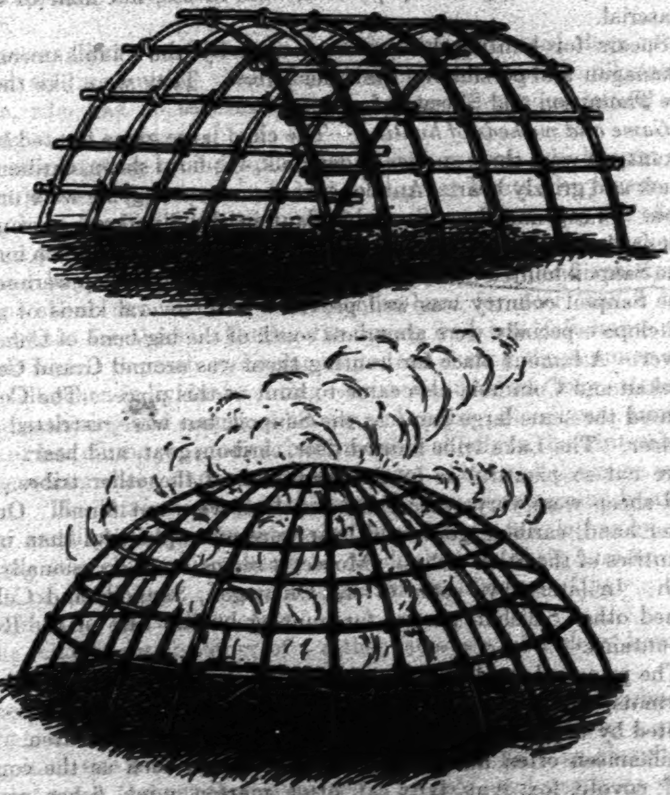

FIGURE 18.—Structure for drying meat

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[3] a, p. 240, fig. 222.

[4] a, p. 240, fig. 217.

made. The ridged part of the horn formed the belly of the bow. They were sinew-backed, like wooden bows. Hand or wrist guards of skin were used by nearly every bowman.

In shooting the flat bow was held horizontally, the double-curved bow vertically.

Quivers were made of skins of wolverene and fisher, in the hair. Skins of otter, cougar, and fawn were employed occasionally. Some rawhide quivers,[5] generally painted, were in use, but none of woven material.

Spears for hunting beaver were used by the Similkameen and Okanagon and possibly by the other tribes. They were like those of the Thompson and Shuswap.[6]

Game and methods of hunting.—The chief large game hunted by the Okanagon were three species of deer, elk, big-horn sheep, caribou, and black and grizzly bear. Antelope were scarce and goats were uncommon. Sheep and deer were abundant in the Similkameen country, but caribou and antelope were absent. Goats were not much hunted. The Sanpoil hunted deer, elk, antelope, and bear. Sheep were scarce. The Sanpoil country was well provided with several kinds of game. Antelope especially were abundant south of the big bend of Columbia River. A famous place for hunting them was around Grand Coulée. Spokan and Columbia also came to hunt at this place. The Colville hunted the same large game as the Sanpoil, but were restricted more to deer. The Lake tribe hunted deer, caribou, goat, and bear. Deer were not so plentiful as in the territories of the other tribes. Elk and sheep were very scarce, and antelope were not found. On the other hand, caribou, goat, and bear were more plentiful than in the countries of the other tribes. Moose, it seems, were occasionally met with. In later days some of the Okanagon, Sanpoil, and Colville joined other Salishan parties for hunting buffalo east of the Rocky Mountains.

The principal smaller kinds of game hunted for food were rabbits, marmots, and beaver. Ground squirrels and tree squirrels were hunted by boys for sport, and their flesh was sometimes eaten. The Similkameen often hunted marmots. Animals such as the cougar, wolf, coyote, fox, lynx, lynx cat, otter, marten, mink, fisher, weasel, and wolverene were hunted and snared for their skins only.

The flesh of dogs was eaten only by the old Similkameen people.

The methods of hunting large game appear to have been quite like those of the Thompson, and require no detailed description. They were ordinary still hunting; approaching game in disguise of the game itself and by imitating its actions, or by approaching in disguise of some animal familiar to it; driving into ambushes or to places such as passes, where hunters were concealed; driving into corrals of nets or entanglements; driving over cliffs; driving deer with dogs to bay in creeks and bears into trees; driving (generally with dogs) to crossing places of rivers and lakes, where hunters lay in wait; encircling; shooting from pits, trees, and ambushes at certain favorite watering places or salt licks; riding down on horseback in open country; watching for deer, caribou, and bear at swimming places and overtaking them with canoes; calling was also practiced to some extent.

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[5] c, p. 244, fig. 225.

[6] c, p. 255, fig. 242.

It seems that the Okanagon and Similkameen used dogs more extensively in hunting than the other tribes. The Similkameen people, who had no salmon in their country, depended largely on hunting.

Besides hunting by individuals and small parties, which went on almost incessantly, most bands had four great hunts every year: A spring hunt for deer and sheep, which usually was not very far afield and comparatively short in duration; a late fall hunt for deer, sheep, elk, and bear, the parties sometimes going far away and remaining out for about two months; a midwinter hunt for deer, and a late winter hunt for sheep. During the spring and late fall hunts the women busied themselves digging roots; and during the summer and early fall, when individual hunting only was carried on, they attended to the gathering and curing of berries and roots. Skins were dressed more or less all the year round, but probably chiefly in the wintertime. In the winter sheep hunt mostly ewes were killed and the rams were let go. The latter were hunted on their summering grounds when fat by small parties in the late summer and early fall, either by still hunting (the chief object being to catch them in their lairs on hot days), or with dogs. Women helped in the driving of game, and some of them also did shooting.

The following is the story of a rather famous winter sheep hunt in the early part of the past century:

Sheep were formerly very plentiful in the *Acnū'lox* (Ashnola) district, and the people of the band there decided to have a great sheep hunt one winter, partly so that they might have an abundance of meat for a festival they were going to hold, and partly to show their guests what a fine sheep-hunting ground they had, and give them a chance of some exciting sport. This was in our grandmothers' days. The *Acnū'lox* people invited the neighboring Similkameen bands, and they invited their friends from the neighboring tribes; so a great many came from Thompson and Nicola Rivers, Okanagon Lake, and Columbia River. Among them were some Shuswap. All gathered at Keremeous, and from there they proceeded to the hunting ground. Many women joined the party to act as drivers, and all were provided with snowshoes. When they neared the place where they were going to drive, the hunting chief took off his cap, made of the skin of a ewe's head, and, waving it toward the cliffs where the sheep were, prayed to them as follows: "Please, sheep, go your usual way, and follow each other, so that we may eat your flesh and thus increase or lengthen our breath (life)! Pity us, and be driven easily to the place where we shall shoot you!" He then sent many men around to sit at the heads of two gulches on top of the mountain and shoot the sheep with arrows as they came up. The men picked were the best shots, and included most of the strangers. He then directed the drivers, a great many men and all the women, mostly Similkameen people, how to proceed and where to go. Most of them, in driving and following the sheep, had to pass a place where they had to jump over a cliff about 3 or 4 meters in height, alighting on a bank of snow. All the men jumped, but some of the women were afraid, turned back and went around by a longer route. The drivers saw and started great numbers of sheep, but they failed to get them to take the top of the mountain. Instead the sheep congregated on a steep, inaccessible cliff below the top, out of range from above or below, and stayed there. The people shouted at them lustily, but they remained there, knowing that it was a secure place. The great drive came to a standstill, and the hunting chief could see no way to get the sheep out.

Among the drivers was an Upper Thompson woman, the grandmother of the narrator of the story, who was married to a Similkameen man. She lived in Similkameen and was known to be resourceful and to have shamanistic powers. The mountain sheep was one of her guardian spirits, and on this occasion she was wearing a cap made of the headskin of an old ewe with horns attached, similar to that worn by the hunting chief. The leading Similkameen people held a consultation. They said, "All our friends will laugh at us if we can not get sheep for them." The Thompson woman said, "Yes; they certainly will." The chief then said to her, "Well, you may know something. I will give the leadership of this hunt to you; you shall be hunting chief." She answered, "Very well, but one thing you must promise." Then, pointing to the dog close to her side (a rather small and vicious-looking animal, that all the people hated), she said, "You must promise never again to abuse my dog. I will drive the sheep alone with my dog, and you may sit down and watch me." She approached the sheep, pointing first at them, then at the four points of the compass, but no one could hear what she said. Presently she gave a sharp call, and the sheep ran into a bunch, which she now pointed out to the dog. She said to it, "Friend, go and drive your friends so that they will all go up where the people want them." The dog rushed off and drove the sheep fiercely. When any of them scattered, he rounded them up again.

He was very intelligent, courageous, fleet of foot, and long-winded. The woman followed as fast as she could, encouraging him. The dog drove all the sheep up, and the men in waiting killed a great number.

Sheep killed in the winter in a big hunt were usually temporarily buried in the snow. Then the people made a good snowshoe road to the main cache by walking back and forth on it repeatedly. When the snow was well packed they dragged the carcasses down to the valley as near their homes as possible. When dragging the loads became too difficult, they cut up the game and divided it, the different families making separate caches in the snow, from which they carried the meat on their backs to their lodges from time to time, as they required it. Horses were employed in later days for this purpose wherever the nature of the gound and snow conditions permitted. Meat not needed immediately was dried, except in the winter, when it could often be kept frozen.

Dog halters of Indian hemp with bone toggles were used.[1]

Hunting parties often carried nets for corralling deer in bushy parts of the country. Nets were also employed near the main camps for capturing any deer which might come around. If fresh tracks were seen entering a clump of bushes, nets were set in the surrounding woods in the form of a half-moon, or sometimes, if it could be managed, in a circle. The shape and size of the corral varied according to the size of the area to be set, the arrangement of the bush patches, and the number of nets at hand. They were stretched across the open glades, the ends being fastened to trees and bushes. In places where the open ground was wide, and the net could not be drawn tight enough, the middle parts where the net sagged were held up and kept taut with light poles placed at intervals. Any space left open, owing to shortage of nets or because too inconvenient to be closed, was guarded by two men with bows and arrows, concealed one at each side. If no men were available, a woman lay down in the center of the opening, and if the deer approached, she jumped up and shouted, thus driving them back. The places where deer were most likely to run were netted first. When all was ready, one or two hunters entered the corral and started the deer out of the bushes. Sometimes this was done with dogs. The hunter let them loose on the fresh scent, and followed them on the run; or he simply let them go and remained at the opening of the corral. The other people hid here and there a short distance away. As soon as a deer was caught in the nets, they clubbed, speared, or shot it. In daylight, and when not too much rushed, deer sometimes did not attempt to pass through the nets, but ran around the corral until they came to the opening, where they were shot by the hunters. Often nets were set overnight in places to which the deer repaired during the night, with the opening of the corral toward the side from which the hunters expected the game to approach. At daybreak the people formed a half-moon, the ends of which extended toward the wings of the corral, and advanced rapidly, shouting at the same time. The startled deer ran ahead. In the semidarkness they did not notice the nets and became entangled in them. The people followed close behind and slaughtered them. This method of catching game was most successful for white-tailed deer, partly because they were generally most plentiful in bushy country and partly because they could not jump as high as mule deer. Nets were made of twine of Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*). They were about 2 to 3 meters high, and varied in length from 15 to 50 or 60 meters. Fences and snares similar to those of the Thompson[8] were used in many parts of the country for deer. Similar fences were employed in some places for caribou; but I can not say if the snares were of the same style.

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[1] a, p. 245 fig. 227.

Deadfalls were used for bear and some other animals, and small animals and grouse were caught in snares.

The eggs of waterfowl were gathered in the spring at all large nesting resorts.

The same stories are told in Okanagon and Similkameen as among the Thompson, of certain men hunting grizzly with a double-pointed bone dirk and a stone club.[9]

Fishing.—I did not obtain detailed information regarding fishing utensils and methods of fishing; but these appear to have been the same as among the Thompson Indians. The Lake Indians, who fished a great deal, may have had methods of fishing in lakes similar to those of the Shuswap.[10] It seems that seine nets were used in some places. In the main rivers salmon were caught in dip nets.

Floats and sinkers were much used with nets by the Okanagon and Lake. Some sinkers were perforated at the end and provided with a groove passing over the end for tying. Two of these were found on Arrow Lake; one was made of a flat, elongated waterworn beach stone, 12 centimeters long, 7 centimeters at the widest part, and 2.5 centimeters thick. The hole had been drilled from both sides, and a worked groove extended from the perforation on each side to the small end of the stone.

Fish were also speared from the shore and in shallows with single and double pointed[11] spears with detachable heads. The single-pointed spear seems to have been by far most commonly used, while the reverse was the case among the Thompson. Fish, large and small, were speared with various sizes of the three-pronged spears.[12] These were generally used from canoes, but also from the ice and from rocks overlooking the water. Spearing by torchlight was in vogue on lakes and on some of the rivers.

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[8] a, p. 247, fig. [illegible]. [9] a, p. [illegible]. [10] See a, pp. [illegible]. [11] See a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible]. [12] a, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

Small fish were caught with hooks and lines.

Weirs and traps of the same kinds as those used by the Thompson were employed in shallow streams and at the outlets and inlets of lakes. Where weirs were used, and salmon packed close together below the obstruction, spears and also some gaff hooks were employed for catching them. The latter had bone points and wooden handles.

Many Okanagon from Okanagon Lake and the upper part of Okanagon River, where salmon were scarce, went to fish salmon on the Lower Okanagon River. A few of the Similkameen people went to the Thompson and Nicola to fish. In like manner many Lake went down to near Marcus, Kettle Falls, and other places along the Columbia on the confines of the Colville. The chief salmon-fishing places in the territories of the Okanagon tribes appear to have been in the vicinity of Kettle Falls and Okanagon Falls. The Colville fished more salmon than any of the other inland tribes of this group. The Lake used canoes most extensively. The Similkameen and, next to them, the Sanpoil, fished less than any of the other tribes.

The importance of sheep hunting by Similkameen and Okanagon, antelope hunting among the Sanpoil, caribou and goat hunting among the Lake, like the difference in fishing and the use of canoes, were caused by the different types of environment of the tribes. Other slight differences between north, south, east, and west were caused by trade influences and contact with border tribes. Hunting, especially of deer, was exceedingly important to all the tribes.

SEASONS.—Among the Okanagon the year was divided into four seasons embracing 10 moons, and a fifth season embracing the rest of the year. The 10 moons were generally called by numbers, as among the Thompson, but most of them had descriptive names besides. The remaining moons were called collectively by the seasonal name of *pᴇskaai'* ("late fall"). The names of the seasons, and their Thompson equivalents, are—

	Okanagon	Thompson
Spring	*pᴇske'pis*	*ska'pis.*
Summer	*spa'nntck*	*spa'nntck*
Early fall	*stᴇmalt'k*	*tᴇmalt'k*
Late fall	*pᴇskaa'i*	*stlwek'st*
Winter	*pᴇsil'stᴇk*	*sil'stᴇk*

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, TRADE

Canoes.—Canoes were used more or less by all the tribes. Bands that had few canoes depended more on rafts. The Lake had an abundance of good bark in their country, and therefore used bark canoes entirely. They were all of the "sturgeon-nose" type. Most of them were made of white-pine bark. The Lower Kutenai employed the same style of canoe. At the present day most Lake canoes are covered with oiled canvas instead of bark. The Colville were not as well supplied with canoes as the Lake, and in fact procured most of their canoes from the latter. The Sanpoil had no canoes formerly. All they had were a few small, poorly made dugouts; and they say that probably long ago they had not even these. Good wood and good bark were scarce in their country, so they depended chiefly on rafts pointed at both ends and made of poles. Rafts made of bundles of tules were also employed, especially on lakes. They were pointed at the ends like the pole rafts. Pole and tule rafts were used also by the Okanagon and all the surrounding tribes, particularly on the small mountain lakes. The Okanagon also used bark canoes of the same shape as those of the Lake. Balsam was the common bark used by them. It seems that they seldom made dugout canoes until after the advent of iron tools. The Similkameen people depended chiefly on rafts. They also made, at least during the past century, small dugouts of yellow pine, balsam, poplar, and cedar. In shape they were like one of those used by the Thompson Indians,[1] but usually shallower, and rather longer snouted. Dugout canoes had no ornamentation or painting. A common style of paddle among the Lake is about 1.2 meters long, nearly half the length being blade. The latter is very broad, with rounded end; and the handle is widened out at the end to a flat knob of round cross section. The knob forms a hand grip and the part where the points of the fingers cling just under the knob is slightly hollowed out, as in many eastern paddles. This type was used more or less by the different interior Salishan tribes; but paddle blades of the more northern Salish tribes were generally narrower.

Bark canoes were floored inside with loose strips of various kinds of bark, such as birch, cedar, spruce, and balsam, or instead of bark a flooring of brush or of long, light straight poles was used. For sitting or kneeling on, bunches of fir or balsam twigs and dry swamp grass were used. Small leaks were calked in the same way as knot holes; but large ones were patched with a strong piece of birch, balsam, or other bark cut out larger than the hole and sewed on, the arrangement of the stiches being similar to those on birch-bark baskets (a long and a short stitch), but not so close together. Afterwards the sewing and edges were daubed with pitch.

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[1] c, p. 256, fig. 237.

CARRYING.—Tump lines were made of rawhide, heavy buckskin, and of lighter skin doubled together. The ends consisted of long stout strings. Short double strings at each end, used by some Athapascan tribes, were not in vogue. Occasionally the leg skins of elk and caribou were used for the head strap. I did not hear of any woven tump lines. Dogs were not used for hauling purposes, either with travois or with sleigh. It seems also that dogs were not employed for carrying burdens, except in a few places. The Similkameen people claim to have used their dogs for carrying loads.

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and were the same as those of the Thompson. The types with cross sticks, like those of the Shuswap and Athapascan, were not used. The common snowshoe worn by the Lake was similar to one used by the Thompson.[2] The Lake snowshoes appear to have been slightly shorter than most of those used by the Thompson, and more turned up in front. In this way they were better adapted to climbing steep mountains. The Lower Thompson snowshoes also have these peculiarities. The common kind used by the Similkameen people was like the one illustrated in Figure 241[3] of the work here referred to. Snowshoes like those shown in Figures 239 and 242 of the same publication[4] are called by the Similkameen "lower-country snowshoes," whether with reference to the Lower Thompson, or to the tribes below on Columbia River, or to both, is not quite clear, but it seems that the Wenatchi and Columbia tribes are meant.

HORSES.—Horses were introduced probably early in the eighteenth century. For a time they remained scarce, as only a few were introduced at first, and for a long time they were much used as food. Horse stealing and horse trading probably also helped to keep their numbers down. However, by the end of the century they were numerous in some parts, and nearly all the Indians were mounted. Many people who were old or elderly when they were introduced, particularly women, never acquired the habit of using them. The Lake people, except a few in the south, never adopted horses, as their country was unsuited to them. The Lake tribe had no chance to become a horse people as long as they occupied their own territories. The few horses they employed were procured from the Colville. The latter, it seems, obtained their horses from the Kalispel, and occasionally from the Spokan. The Sanpoil got theirs from the Spokan, Colville, and Columbia. The Okanagon obtained their horses from the Sanpoil, Columbia, and Colville. The Similkameen say they saw horses first among the Okanagon, and got their horses chiefly from them. The Sanpoil have a story regarding their first horse, but do not state where it came from. They say that the earliest horses were all very small; and yet at first people were afraid to ride them, for fear of falling off. The first horse obtained was very gentle. The first person who mounted it rode with two long sticks, one in each hand, to steady himself. Another man led the horse slowly, and the rider shifted the sticks (as one does with walking sticks) as they went along.

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[2] c, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

[3] c, p. [illegible], fig. 241.

[4] c, pp. [illegible], [illegible], figs. [illegible], 242.

Horse Equipment.—The Indians soon learned to make saddles and all necessary horse equipment. The same styles prevailed, from the Shuswap and Thompson, south into Oregon, and east to the plains. However, materials and saddle blankets varied a little from place to place. Horses soon became generally used for riding and packing; and distant visiting, trading, and hunting journeys were made easy. Horses also constituted a new source of wealth. A great impetus was given to intertribal trade, visiting, and even intermarriage; also new methods of hunting became possible, and transportation of large quantities of meat and fish could now be effected over long distances in a short time and with little labor.

Trading and Trade Routes.—Before the arrival of the horse, trading journeys were made on foot, except among the Lake and in part among the Okanagon, who used canoes, as they had extensive waterways easy of navigation. As everything had to be transported on the back, trading was naturally confined to light and valuable articles, and trading trips were not so frequent as they were after horses came into use. Neither did as many people take part in them. It seems that formerly trade was in the nature of a gradual filtering through of articles from one end of a large expanse of country to the other. In some places a few people occasionally made special trading trips across mountain ranges and through uninhabited country to distant neighbors. After horses had come into use these trips developed into important affairs, undertaken regularly by large parties.

The two greatest salmon-fishing places were also the two greatest trading places—Okanagon Falls and Kettle Falls. The former was in the territory of the Okanagon, the latter in that of the Colville. Both were important trading points before as well as after the introduction of the horse. Before its advent, trade went north via Okanagon River and Okanagon Lake to the Shuswap. The journey was easy, being accomplished almost entirely by water. From the head of Okanagon Lake the Shuswap had only a short distance to carry their goods to the navigable waters of Spallumcheen River, Shuswap Lake, and South Thompson River, to Kamloops, which was a central point. Trade followed navigable waters from here west to Savona, and north by the North Thompson, at least 100 miles. This seems to have been an important route. No doubt, also, some trade went overland, by routes later used by horses, such as the Similkameen River; but it seems that these were of little importance in early times.

In like manner from Kettle Falls trade went north, following the Columbia to Arrow Lakes and Revelstoke, where the Shuswap were met. Practically all this journey was by canoe, and most of it was quite easy.

It seems that in early times trade from the east flowed chiefly to Colville by way of the Pend d'Oreilles route, and trade from the south to Okanagon by way of Columbia River. These points, being under different influences, would differ to some extent in the character of their trade. No doubt there was always some cross-country trade between the Colville and Okanagon through the Sanpoil country, so that eastern, western, northern, and southern objects would be exchanged between these places. Some trade from the Columbia River would also reach Colville more directly by way of the Spokan tribe. It seems likely, however, that goods from Columbia River were carried north from Okanagon, while objects of barter obtained from the east were unimportant. In like manner it might be expected that the Colville traded more in eastern goods, less in those from Columbia River. Thus possibly the most direct route for eastern influences to reach the Shuswap would be from the Colville by way of the Lake, and for southern influences from Okanagon River, between the mouth and the falls, by way of the Lower and Upper Okanagon.

It seems that the Shuswap came into touch with the Lake by two main routes—by way of the Fire Valley and Caribou Lake to the upper end of Lower Arrow Lake, and farther north to the Columbia River at Revelstoke. Some people often traversed the river and the lakes between these two points, fishing and hunting with the Lake tribe. Occasionally some of their parties tarried several months on these visits, especially some of those who came by way of Fire Valley. Those who came to Revelstoke fished with the Lake tribe there. Some of them returned the way they came, after the fishing season was over; and others ascended the Columbia for hunting and trapping. Some of the latter met other Shuswap parties who reached the Columbia farther up, by way of Canoe River, and they frequently wintered at points on the Columbia.

As all the Shuswap reaching the Columbia came from as far west and north as Spellumcheen River, Shuswap Lake, and the Upper North Thompson, they traversed a long distance through mostly rough country, which would hamper any extensive trade development in this direction. Even in later days horses could not be used on those Shuswap trails, except by the southern, the Fire Valley, route. The contact here between Lake and Shuswap was between the poorest bands of both tribes. On the other hand, the head of Okanagon Lake was close to large centers of population. The homes of the Shuswap were only a little distance to the north, and the intervening country was easily traversed. It seems, therefore, that the bulk of the trade from the south must have come by the Okanagon route; and, as this trade route was rather from the southern Columbia than from the east, the Shuswap would be subjected to influences from the southern Columbia, The Dalles, and southward, rather than from the southeast and the plains. The Shuswap, being at the northerly end of the trade routes from the south, would act as distributers, in the same way as the Okanagon and Colville farther south; and, Kamloops being the nearest central point in their country, trade would gravitate to that place. It thus seems likely that trade from the south would reach the Thompson down Thompson River from Kamloops rather than by the cross-country routes from Okanagon to the head of Nicola River, and from Okanagon to the Thompson by way of the Similkameen and Nicola. The *Stuwī'x* tribe would also to some extent form a barrier to trade reaching the Thompson by the last-named routes, owing to the hostility that existed between them and the Okanagon immediately before the introduction of the horse. Their culture points to Thompson rather than Okanagon influence.

Following the introduction of the horse, trade conditions changed rather suddenly, and the old trade routes became of minor importance. Trade now passed across country with the greatest ease. The new main trade routes followed across the rolling, lightly timbered grassy plateaus, and through the open valleys, in almost straight lines from one place to another. A great cross-country trade sprang up between Okanagon and Colville. The latter place became of greatest importance as a trading center for a large area of the Plateau country. In fact, it became the great trade emporium of the interior Salishan tribes. Trade from The Dalles and Columbia River going east, and a great deal of that going north, came here by way of the Spokan and Okanagon. The eastern trade from as far as the plains came here by way of Pend d'Oreille River, and passed south, west, and north. The old Lake route to the north, being impossible for horses, was practically neglected. The great trade route to the north was now across country from Colville to Okanagon River; thence it branched off, about half of the volume of trade going up the Similkameen to the Thompson, and the rest passing on to Okanagon Lake. The volume of trade that passed north to the Shuswap and Thompson became very great. The routes traversed were natural ones for horses, through open, well-grassed country, without any physical barriers. Goods were transported up Okanagon Valley by horses, although no doubt some went by canoe, as before. From Okanagon Lake a number of branch routes came into use, leading to the Thompson and Shuswap. Trade to the latter tribe went on to the head of the lake, as before. From there one route was to Spellumcheen River and thence to Shuswap Lake. As already stated, this was probably the most important route before the advent of the horse. A second route led to Shuswap Lake by way of Salmon River. This route was now more important than formerly. The third route, now much the most important one, was across the Upper Salmon River, by way of Grand Prairie, directly to Kamloops. A branch of this trail went from Grand Prairie to Douglas Lake and to the Nicola and Thompson. A minor trail went from the west side of Okanagon Lake, across a narrow piece of intervening plateau, to Nicola and Thompson Rivers; and another one, from Penticton, at the foot of the lake, joined the main Similkameen trail to the Nicola and Thompson.

Thus it seems that before the introduction of the horse the Shuswap and Thompson tribes were exposed to less influence through trade from the southeast and the plains and to more from the south and Oregon country. As the old trade routes led more directly to the Shuswap than to the Thompson, the former tribe would be more influenced by whatever cultural influences followed them. After the introduction of the horse, conditions were reversed; and these tribes came under a considerably greater influence from the southeast, which before long was further augmented by the great annual movements of the more eastern of the Plateau tribes to the plains for buffalo hunting. The trade routes which now came into vogue led rather to the Thompson than to the Shuswap, and therefore the former tribe now became subject to influences brought in by trade.

In early times some trade was carried on between the Lower Kutenai and the Lake tribe. Parties of the former frequently came to the mouth of Slocan River, and occasionally to the mouth of the Kootenai, to buy salmon. They left their canoes above Bonnington Falls, and after living a couple of weeks with the Lake tribe, and eating plenty of fresh salmon, they departed, carrying their fish over the portage. Sometimes parties of the Lake tribe visited the Kutenai on Kootenai Lake, occasionally going as far as Creston, where they engaged with them in games and did a little trading. Trade between the Lake tribe and the Kutenai was not increased by the introduction of the horse, but rather the reverse was the case.

The chief articles obtained in trade from the Thompson appear to have been dried salmon, salmon oil, salmon pemmican, coiled basketry, dentalia, some stone celts, and the like. The principal goods exchanged for these were horses, dressed buffalo skins and robes, dressed moose skin (rarely caribou skin), painted buffalo hide bags and parflèches and woven bags of the Nez Percé type.

As stated already, there was not much direct trade between the Okanagon and Thompson before the days of the horse, and what there was seems to have been confined chiefly to salmon pemmican and dentalia, which were exchanged for Indian hemp and dressed skins. The Okanagon traded the same commodities to the Shuswap and to the Thompson. The Okanagon procured dentalia from the Shuswap, and it is probable that before the introduction of the horse most of these shells were obtained from them.

In July and August, when the route was open, Similkameen and Okanagon sometimes crossed the Cascade Mountains and visited the people of Hope on Lower Fraser River. After horses became common this trade became important and was followed annually. Large packs of dried fish and oil, and in later days even salted salmon, were transported over this trail.

They sold to the Lower Fraser people Indian-hemp bark and twine, dried service berries, and dressed buckskin, in exchange for the best kinds of dried salmon, salmon oil, dentalia, and other shells.

From the Columbia it seems that marine shells, bags of the Nez Percé style, products from The Dalles country, some horses, salmon, coiled basketry, and probably some stone implements and woven robes, were procured in exchange for articles common to all the tribes, such as Indian hemp, robes, clothes, dressed skins, etc.

Some horses and buffalo skin were procured from the Spokan chiefly by the Sanpoil; but there was not much direct trade with this tribe, although Sanpoil visited the Lower Spokan. The Sanpoil appear to have done most of their trading with the Colville on the one hand and the Okanagon on the other.

The Colville procured horses, painted bags and parflêches, buffalo robes, etc., from the Kalispel, in exchange for dried salmon, and some articles reaching them from the west and north, such as shells.

The Lower Kutenai sometimes traded painted bags, parflêches and deer-skin robes to the Lake for dried salmon, and the Lake sold some bark canoes to the Colville. They also sold some products obtained at Colville to the Shuswap, receiving in return chiefly marmot robes and dentalia.

It seems that slaves were procured chiefly from the Columbia tribe. Tobacco and certain kinds of roots were trade articles to some extent. Camas roots, for instance, were often sold to the Thompson, and the latter sometimes sold one or two kinds of roots to the Okanagon. Red paint was sold by the Similkameen people to both the Okanagon and Thompson, and parties of these tribes also came to the Tulameen Forks or Vermilion to gather it themselves. Pipes and pipestone of red, brown, green, mottled, yellowish, bluish, and gray colors were interchanged. The bright-red catlinite came from the east, chiefly through the Kalispel. Green soapstone came chiefly from the Thompson. I learned nothing regarding early trading in copper and iron. It would seem that these metals were not in use to any great extent before the advent of the horse. Buffalo-skin tents reached the Thompson. Small, flat, disk-shaped beads of shell and bone, used very much by the Thompson and all the tribes for necklaces, may have been made by some or possibly by all of the tribes, but there is evidence that most of them came in trade from the Columbia tribe and The Dalles. Robes of all kinds were valuable, and were exchanged between all the tribes; as were the best kinds of clothes, good weapons, and good tools.

Everything in use had more or less of a set value, which varied in different parts of the country, according to the demand and supply of the commodity.

Families in the same tribe and even the same band, and even individuals who were comrades or next-door neighbors, often traded among themselves. Indian hemp, Indian-hemp twine, and dressed skins, chiefly deerskins, were staples, and although almost equally common to all the tribes of the interior, were in demand constantly because they were so much required for manufactures and clothing. All commodities could be bought with them. The Coast Indians never carried goods inland, as they did in Alaska and in the north, where Athapascan tribes inhabited the interior.

The Okanagon and Colville appear to have been the chief traders among the central tribes, both before and after the introduction of the horse. The Okanagon traded from one end of their country to the other, north and south, and the Sanpoil and Lake tribes did the same east and west. The Colville did no carrying, or hardly any. Their country was small and the surrounding tribes all came to them. Before the introduction of the horse hardly any tribe went beyond the borders of their own country for trading; but afterwards, in times of peace, some parties of the chief trading tribes, such as the Okanagon, for instance, went to the adjoining tribes, and sometimes into the territory of other tribes beyond. The Okanagon occasionally came to Lytton and Kamloops, and they have been known to go to La Fontaine and Lillooet.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the central tribes appear to have been almost the same as those of the Thompson. Spears about 2 meters in length were common. Their points were of flaked stone, bone, and antler. In shape, some were long and narrow, and others somewhat leaf-shaped. War knives were of the same shapes and materials as spearheads. After the arrival of the fur traders iron took the place of other materials for spearheads and knives, and long double-edged war knives were made like those of the Thompson.[1] Tomahawk clubs with stone and antler heads were in use. In later days these were replaced by the trader's tomahawks of iron, including the pipe tomahawk. Bows and arrows have already been mentioned.

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[1] *a*, p. [illegible], fig. [illegible].

A number of different types of war clubs were in use. The three kinds with round stone heads used by all the Thompson were common. One kind had a rigid head with rawhide shrunk over it;[1] another kind had a flexible head consisting of a stone enclosed in a bag of dressed skin;[2] and the third kind consisted of a stone enclosed in rawhide, with a short flexible handle of twisted rawhide or a loop of heavy thong. Some of these appear to have been grooved, but most of them were enclosed in hide. War clubs in a single piece were also common. Some of these were of hard wood.[3] Shorter stone clubs, probably of jade and serpentine, of nearly the same shape[4] as the wooden ones, were used principally by the Okanagon. Possibly most of them were obtained in trade from Wenatchi and Columbia. Clubs made of a single piece of elk antler were common. Usually the sharpened stub of a tine at the head formed a spike. The Similkameen claim that his was the most common war club among them. A crooked club of stone and wood, or entirely of either material, was in use. It resembled somewhat the crooked war club of eastern tribes, but had no ball or spike. This style may have been introduced from the plains, but quite possibly it may have been modeled after some of the elk-antler clubs which were of this shape naturally. The crooked club with ball and spike was introduced in later days by the fur traders. Straight wooden clubs set with from one to eight spikes of stone or antler were also in use. Iron clubs came into use after the traders came. They were shaped somewhat like a machete. I did not learn the exact distribution of the various kinds of clubs among the four tribes, but it seems that all kinds were more or less used everywhere. A club with elongated head of rounded stone[5] may have been introduced from the plains. A club with elongated head of flat stone was indigenous.

Cuirasses of rods of wood and of slats of wood were in use among the Okanagon and Sanpoil, and some of heavy hide were also employed. Some of the latter were low, and only encircled the waist. Tunics of thick elk hide were worn by a few men. I did not hear of helmets of any kind, nor of long hide shields.[6] Small shields were universal. Most of them were made of thick hide sewed to a wooden hoop. From one to three thicknesses of hide were used.[7] Some of those of a single piece of hide were rendered arrow proof by a thick coat of glue and sand on one side. Some shields had no hoops. One kind was exactly like the shields used on the plains. All the hide shields were circular or nearly circular. A few oval-shaped shields of slats of wood were used.[1]

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[1] c, p. 264, fig. 247.

[2] See Thompson, c, p. 264, fig. 248.

[3] See Thompson, c, 265, fig. 251.

[4] See Yakima, l, figs. 62, 63.

[5] Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 1, p. 313.

[6] See Thompson, c, p. 266, fig. 253.

[7] Field Museum, 11041.

Breastworks were used in warfare. Some were made of loose stones and earth. They were made in lines in several ways, according to the position to be defended. Some were in tiers, some in straight lines, others were semicircular, and a few entirely circular. I did not obtain any detailed information regarding stockades and fortified houses.

WARS. *Wars between the Stuwī'x, Thompson, Okanagon, and Shuswap.*—Long ago the *Stuwī'x* (the Athapascan Nicola-Similkameen tribe) had frequent wars with the Thompson. This was at a time before the latter had intermarried much with them. The Lytton band of the Thompson were the people who attacked the *Stuwī'x* most frequently. The Shuswap and Okanagon also attacked them. The latter drove them away from near the mouth of Similkameen River, and occupied their territory there; and the same may have been done by the Thompson near the mouth of the Nicola River. The Thompson ceased to attack the *Stuwī'x* after they had intermarried considerably with them, as they were afraid of killing their own kin, or, as they say, of "spilling their own blood." The Okanagon, for the same reason and also because they made fast friends with the Thompson and became their allies, also ceased to attack the *Stuwī'x*. During all of the past century at least, the Thompson, *Stuwī'x*, and Okanagon never fought one another. The Thompson became friendly with the *Stuwī'x* first. The Shuswap, however, continued to attack them throughout the first half of the past century, and sometimes also attacked individuals and parties of Thompson and Okanagon who happened to be camping with the *Stuwī'x*. Most of the Shuswap war parties came from Savona and Kamloops. In some raids they were successful, while in others they were defeated and most of them killed. In some fights, Thompson and Okanagon helped the *Stuwī'x*. In all these wars the other tribes were the aggressors; for the *Stuwī'x* acted only on the defensive, and never sent any parties into the territories of their enemies.

When hunting in the Cascades, Similkameen parties often met Lower Thompson in the country back of Hope and Chilliwack, but they were always friendly. They never met Coast Indians, nor Klickitat, in the Cascades. The former never hunted far back in the mountains, and the latter did not go so far north. They say that Thompson hunting and war parties sometimes went a long way south along the Cascades, but the Similkameen people did not go far.

I did not hear of wars of any Okanagon tribes against Columbia, Wenatchi, Spokan, Kalispel, and other southern and eastern Salish tribes. Long ago, about 1700, the Shuswap had wars with the

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[1] Field Museum, 111062.

Okanagon. Once a large Shuswap war party from Savona and neighborhood was defeated at *Namtū'stɛn* ("place of ambush") and nearly all of them were killed. Another Shuswap war party had many men killed by falling over a cliff below Penticton. It seems that this war party came over the plateau to the bluffs above the valley, which they reached in the evening. Here they halted to observe some camps in the valley below. They were noticed by some Okanagon scouts, and in the night time were surrounded by a strong party of Okanagon, who shortly before daybreak attacked them suddenly. Many of the Shuswap, not knowing the locality, fell over the precipice in the dark. Some others escaped to isolated rocks, where their retreat was cut off by the steep cliffs, and they were shot there after daylight. A number of others escaped through the Okanagon in the dark, and reached home. Their war chief was killed.

Wars with Kutenai.—The Lake say that they had no wars with the Shuswap, nor with any other tribe except the Kutenai. With the Lower Kutenai they had some small fights and one great war. It is not remembered exactly how it started; but the Kutenai tried to drive the Lake away from Lower Kootenai River, and to take possession of the salmon fisheries at the mouth of Slocan River. A number of fights occurred, with advantage sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other. At last the Lake held a council, and said, "We better kill all the Kutenai, and then there will be no more trouble." At this time the Lake tribe was very numerous, and men came from all parts of the tribe. A large expedition went up Kootenai Lake and attacked the Lower Kutenai of Creston. They killed a great many people, and after that the Kutenai ceased to attack them. In some expeditions Shuswap helped the Lake against the Kutenai. The Lake say that sometimes independent war parties of Shuswap appeared in the Lake country on their way to attack the Kutenai. The Lake tribe sometimes gave them assistance in crossing the Columbia. It seems that there has been no war between the Lake and the Kutenai since about the beginning of the past century.

Wars with the Nez Percé and Yakima.—The Sanpoil say that according to traditions the Sanpoil and Nespelim led very peaceful lives, sometimes for decades at a time, neither attacking nor being attacked, although meanwhile they heard of many wars among other tribes. Their chiefs always favored peace, although all bands had war chiefs and a certain number of trained warriors. Once, sometime in the latter part of the eighteenth century, or at least previous to the coming of the white traders, a large war party of Nez Percé attacked the main camp of the Sanpoil, at a time when most of the able-bodied men were away on a hunting expedition in the mountains. Nearly 200 women, children, and old people were killed. The Sanpoil asked the assistance of the Okanagon and Colville to revenge the massacre; and two years afterwards the warriors of the three tribes had congregated in the Sanpoil country, preparatory to starting on the great war expedition, when a large war party of Nez Percé and Yakima appeared. Having had such an easy victory before, and two years having passed without any reprisals by the Sanpoil, they thought the latter were easy marks. The Yakima, probably including Paloos, had heard of the easy victory of the Nez Percé, and a number of them had joined the Nez Percé to have a share in the next victory. The Sanpoil and their allies hid their strength from the enemy, and let them attack. In the battle which followed the Sanpoil and their allies completely routed the enemy and chased them for many miles. All the enemy were killed except four men, who managed to escape. After this severe defeat the Nez Percé and the Yakima never attacked the Sanpoil again.

Wars with the whites.—The Okanagon tribes remained neutral during the Spokan and Yakima wars against the whites, except a few men, chiefly Okanagon (and Sanpoil?), who individually joined the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne. Some of the overland parties of whites who proceeded from California and Oregon to the Fraser River gold-diggings in 1858–1860, when passing through the Okanagon country, were attacked and harassed by the natives, who opposed their passage at some points by erecting breastworks and shooting from them, setting fire to the grass, stampeding horses, picking off stragglers, and even attacking camps. In one instance a large white party was driven to the river and forced to cross. A number of whites were killed in these skirmishes. About 1875, owing to strong feeling engendered by the failure of the Government to provide reservations and make treaty with the Indians, the Okanagon and Shuswap tribes made a compact to attack the whites and drive them out of their territories. This was frustrated by the strong influence of Chief *Tcelahitsa* of the Douglas Lake band.

FEUDS.—Feuds between families occurred, although it is said not as frequently as among the Thompson. They were sometimes settled by intervention of chiefs and leading men, who acted as arbitrators. Often blood money had to be paid. Michel Revais told me the following regarding a feud among the Nicola Okanagon:

Chief Nicolas,[10] who lived at Douglas Lake and the head of Okanagon Lake, was considered head chief of the Okanagon on the Canadian side of the line. He had a son called *Kxsaskai'lxx*, a tall, very fine-looking man, and a daughter Marie,[11] who married William Peone, near Colville. She was tall and good-looking, like her brother, and had tattoo marks at the corners of her mouth. *Kxsaskai'-*

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[10] See Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs, p. 267 (4.9).

[11] According to the genealogy, the woman was the second wife of Peone, and no relative of *Kxsaskai'lxx*. Peone's first wife was a sister of *Kxsaskai'lxx*.

lxx killed his wife and her paramour near Douglas Lake, and then took refuge on the American side with his sister Marie and her husband. Much ill feeling was caused among the Indians of the band, who took sides in the matter. The relatives of the people killed were warlike and of a revengeful disposition. They threatened to kill members of the chief's family, and it seemed likely that much blood would flow if the affair were not settled quickly. Chief Nicolas called the people together and considered the case. He then paid for his son's deed "blood money" consisting of a lot of horses, some cattle, and a number of robes, and settled the case. Some time after this, in 1862, Michel Revais, Peone, and two or three others came through from Fort Colville with a drove of cattle. *Kxsaskai'lxx* joined them. When they reached the open ground near where Chief Nicolas and many of his people were camped at Douglas Lake, *Kxsaskai'lxx* withdrew to a clump of trees with his gun and two pistols, saying that he would remain there and fight, as he expected to be attacked. The others went on, and entered the chief's lodge. Nicolas asked for his son, and they told him where he was. He said, "Bring him in! He need not be afraid. I have paid his debt in full measure, and no one will harm him now." *Kxsaskai'lxx* then came in to his father's lodge. About 1860 Nicolas was an old man. He owned a great many horses and a number of cattle at that time. A few small plots of land were also cultivated by him and his people.

VIII. GAMES AND PASTIMES

I did not learn much about games. The dice game, played by women with marked teeth of beaver and marmot, was common. It seems to have been played in the same, way as among the Thompson, and the marks on the dice were the same, or nearly the same.[1] The guessing-stick game of the Thompson was in vogue at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon.[2] The ring-and-lance game was a favorite among all the tribes.[3] The ring-and-dart game[4] and the pin-and-ball game were in vogue among all of them, and seem to have differed little, if any, from the same games among the Thompson. Lehal, or the hand game, was universal, and played by both sexes. Ball games were played by both sexes. They appear to have been similar to those of the Thompson.[5] Several arrow games were played, including one of shooting arrows at a rolling ring of grass. It seems a ring with meshes was also used in one game, which may have been similar to a game among the Cœur d'Alêne.[6] Cat's cradles were common to all the tribes. Foot racing, and in later days horse racing, were much in vogue. A famous rendezvous of the Upper Okanagon for athletic sports, racing, shooting, and other games was at a place a little below Penticton. Parties of Thompson and Shuswap and others from the south went there to compete.

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[1] a, p. 272, fig. 256.

[2] a, pp. 272, 273.

[3] a, p. 274.

[4] a, pp. 274, 275.

[5] a, pp. 277, 278.

[6] See p. 132.

IX. SIGN LANGUAGE

A sign language was in use, but little is now remembered of it. Some of it is still employed as an adjunct to speech and in giving signals when hunting. The signs are said to have been similar to those formerly used by the Thompson and Shuswap. Probably it was not as well developed or perfected as the sign language which in later days came in from the east. Many of the Sanpoil and Colville became adepts in the use of the later sign language, and it is still employed to some extent by them in talking with strangers. Some of the signs in both types were the same or only slightly different; others were quite distinct. After the coming of the fur traders the Indians learned more or less French, especially those living near the trading posts. The Colville especially learned to speak a great deal of French. It seems that Chinook jargon did not come into use until about 1840, being introduced first by employees of the fur companies who had lived on the lower Columbia.

X. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

ORGANIZATION.—The social organization of the tribes was practically the same as that found among the Upper Thompson and eastern Shuswap. There was no hereditary nobility;[a] and there were no clans, phratries, or societies that I could learn of. It seems that long ago animals and birds were imitated in dances (other than in the guardian spirit dance), but the dancers did not belong to any societies or groups. The person who introduced and led the dance had generally received it or the inspiration of the dance in a dream or vision, and other Indians joined in helping him. No society was formed to control the dance and the song belonging to it.

Each tribe was divided into bands, which consisted of varying numbers of loosely connected families, who made their headquarters in a certain district and under a single chief. Some families, however, would winter with one band and summer with another. It seems that long ago the number of bands, and therefore also the number of chiefs, was less than lately. The area controlled by each band and the population of each were, on the other hand, greater and some bands had several villages or camps all under one chief who lived at the main village.

CHIEFS.—Later on, it would seem, people of some of the minor villages began to consider themselves as distinct bands, with chiefs of their own. Often these chiefs were not of chiefs' descent. For instance, it is said that in the early part of the past century there were only three or four real chiefs in the Nicola-Similkameen country—Nicolas, at Douglas Lake, Upper Nicola (he had Spokan, Okanagon, and some *Stuwi'x* blood[1]); *Soqkokwa's* ("Sun"), in the central part of Nicola Valley (he was half *Stuwi'x* and half Thompson); and Martinus[2] (also of mixed descent), in Similkameen. Later *Nawi'seqan* ("raised high head" or "able to be high head") became recognized chief in the central part of Nicola. He was pure Thompson, and leader of the Thompson people who settled in the Nicola Valley. At his death he owned about 1,000 head of horses. Some say that at the same time *Skeu'x* was chief of the Upper Similkameen. At the present day and for some time past there have been three chiefs in Similkameen, one at Douglas Lake besides the head chief, and five in Nicola Valley. Of these, at least six are of almost pure Thompson blood. It seems that during the last 35 years the church and the Indian Department have fostered the tendency, if in many cases they have not actually created it, to recognize as chief a leading man of each little community.[3]

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[a] I presume this means that, although there were hereditary chiefs, their families did not form a nobility, that the prestige was connected with the chieftaincy alone.—F. B.

There were two classes of chiefs—hereditary chiefs of bands, and others who became chiefs through their ability. The latter might become recognized chiefs through prowess in war; by accumulation of wealth and distributing it in feasts, as presents to their own people and in entertainment of strangers; through wisdom in council, especially if combined with a gift for oratory. Chieftainship of the second class was not hereditary.

All war parties and hunting parties had temporary chiefs, as among the Thompson, and most bands had regular war chiefs. Besides the war chief, almost all the larger war parties had a war shaman, who was supposed to advise as to the disposition of the enemy, to help secure victory and prevent surprise or defeat. Large hunting parties often took with them a shaman or a man who had special power over the game to be hunted. These men were believed to have the power of placating the animals, drawing them to the hunters, making them tame, telling the whereabouts of game, and, if shamans, preventing the bewitching of the party or of the game by other people. Some of these men and shamans were also believed to have power over the weather.

There were also dance chiefs, whose office was more or less temporary; but it seems that the chiefs of the religious dances were permanent. They were leaders in public praying at the dances. The hereditary chiefs of bands were looked upon as fathers of the people, and gave advice on all internal matters of the band. They exhorted the people to good conduct, and announced news personally or through criers. To some extent they regulated the seasonal pursuits of the people. They looked after the maturing of the berries, personally or by deputy, in their respective districts. They kept time by notching sticks, and occasionally made records of notable events. They were often referred to, in case of dispute, regarding dates, the name of the month, etc. They gave decisions and admonitions in petty disputes and quarrels, and sometimes, when asked to arbitrate, they settled feuds between families. They had little power to enforce any decrees. This was done by public opinion. Some of them had messengers or helpers, who acted generally in a persuasive way as peace officers.

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[1] See "Genealogy of the Douglas Lake Chiefs," p. 267 ([illegible]).

[2] Nicolas and Martinus were names said to have been given them by the first fur traders.

There were no female chiefs. Children of all kinds of chiefs, both male and female, had a certain prominence because of their ancestry and training; and strangers generally preferred to camp with them rather than with people less known, where they might not be as safe nor as well entertained.

There were no permanent councils. A chief or prominent man might call for a council of the chiefs or of the people at any time, if he had important news. As a rule, the band chief called the councils in his band. The councils and meetings were generally open, and all people had a right to attend and speak, if they wished. Announcements of councils were generally made by criers, of whom there was one or more in each band. Dances were also often announced by the public crier, but sometimes the drummers simply went to the dance place and began to sing, and then people knew there would be a dance.

It seems that there was one recognized head chief of all the tribes, except possibly the Lake. Although this tribe were canoe people, some families were nomadic. It appears that their bands averaged less people than those of the other tribes. After part of the Okanagon territory had come under American jurisdiction and the other part under Canadian, there were two head chiefs of the tribe—one on each side of the line.

It was considered the duty of all chiefs, particularly of peace chiefs, to be hospitable, help the poor, show a good example, and give small feasts or presents to the people from time to time.

GENEALOGY OF THE OKANAGON CHIEFS

The following genealogy was collected by Mr. Teit from Chief Alexander Chelahitsa and several other Indian informants. Only the important chiefs' families have been followed out in detail and the genealogy does not contain all the individuals who are known to be descendants of the first *Pelkamū'lox*. The genealogy embraces six generations and a few individuals of the seventh generation.

1.1. *Pelkamū'lox (Pᴇlᴇkamū'laux)*, "Rolls-over-the-Earth," a chief of the *Snxomi'nax* or *snxomē'nic*, "salmon people"; Upper Spokan; the principal branch of the Spokan. Married presumably a Spokan woman. He was born presumably between 1675 and 1680.

2.1. *Pelkamū'lôx*, a chief in the same tribe. He was born presumably between 1705 and 1710. For some reason he left his own tribe and lived chiefly among the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and Shuswap. He had other children besides the four sons here mentioned. Since they were not prominent their names have been forgotten. He died at an advanced age at *Sĕn'lx̣ᵘ* "heaped-up stone house," an ancient Okanagon stronghold near the junction of the Similkameen and Okanagon Rivers. It is said that when he was young he went several times on buffalo hunting expeditions to the plains. During his lifetime there was a period of severe warfare in the Okanagon region. The Indians believe that at this time the *Stuwī'x* were driven out of the lower Similkameen region. He married first a Spokan woman (2.1 *a*); second, a Shuswap woman at Kamloops (2.1 *b*); third, a Sanpoil woman (2.1 *c*); fourth, an Okanagon woman, daughter of the chief at *Sĕn'lx̣ᵘ* (2.1 *d*).

3.1. A son of 2.1 and 2.1*a*, whose name is not remembered, married a Spokan woman. The order of the four children of 3.1 is uncertain. According to some the daughter was the eldest; according to others, the youngest child. The three sons all married and left descendants among the Spokan. He became chief of the *Snxomē'nĕc* and was the ancestor of several Lower and Upper Spokan, including *Nkwielpo'* (Walking-Outside) and his brother *Kotī'lxko'* (Big-Star) or *Nkwaskwotī'lōq*, commonly known as Oliver Lot, late chief of the Lower Spokan on the Spokane Reservation.

3.2. *Kwolī'la*, chief of the Kamloops Band of the Shuswap; married a Kamloops woman (3.2 *a*). He was known also as *Tōkī'n* (possibly a corruption of Duncan as he was called by the traders). He had more children than those mentioned here. His half-niece (4.8) was adopted by him. (See under 3.4.)

It is said that the Kamloops chief preceding *Kwolī'la* was *Tūlxxo'n* who was killed on a war expedition in which the Sekanai were driven out of the upper North Thompson and Yellowhead districts. He was also engaged in wars with the Cree and is said to have been wounded in a fight with them.[1] The Kamloops chieftaincy did not descend in *Kwolī'la's* family. His successor was *Kwī'sotsxan* (a name also used by the Thompson), who was not related to *Kwolī'la*. His successor was Jean Baptiste Lolo, commonly known as St. Paul. About 1864 he was succeeded by Louis *Xlexxle'xkĕn*, not a relative of St. Paul, who held the chieftaincy until his death in 1915 at the age of 87 years. The present chief is a young man, Elie La Rue, chosen by Chief Louis before his death, and confirmed by election by the tribe. Some informants say that *Kwolī'la* was succeeded by *Telōkă'n* or *Slā'kĕn* (male grizzly bear), whence the Indian surname Logan.

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[1] *l. c.*, pp. [illegible], and Franz Boas, Report on Northwestern Tribes of Canada, British Assn. Adv. of Science, 1890, pp. 86, 87 (reprint).

Baptiste Logan, a chief at the head of Okanagon Lake, lately deposed by the agent, is a grandson of this man. The same informant claims that a chief named *Patsa* preceded Louis as chief.

3.3. *Siwst'lmkm*, chief of the Sanpoil. He married a Sanpoil woman. He had more children than those mentioned here. It is said that most of the later Sanpoil and Nespelim chiefs are his descendants.

3.4. *Pelkamū'lôx*, head chief of the Okanagon. He married first, an Okanagon woman from *Nkama'pelaks* (3.4a), at the head of Okanagon Lake; and second, a *Stuwi'x* woman from Similkameen, perhaps partly of Thompson descent. The order of birth of his children is uncertain.

Pelkamū'lôx became a noted chief and was known far and wide. During his early life he was much engaged in war. These wars commenced in his father's time or before and continued for many years—many Okanagon as well as people of other tribes being killed. *Sāli'lxᵘ* where he made his headquarters was considered the chief seat of the Okanagon tribe (or at least of the northern division). The old name of the place is said to have been *Okanā'qen*. *Pelkamū'lôx* built a fort here of stone and afterwards the place became generally known as *Sali'lxᵘ*, "heaped-up (stone) house," with reference to the fortifications of stone. It is said there was also a cave near there, the approach to which was defended with breastworks of stones. In case of necessity the people took refuge in it, and from there no party could approach, except under cover of night, without being observed. This place is said to have been impregnable and war parties of Thompson, Shuswap, Kutenai, and others who assaulted it were easily beaten off. *Kwoli'la* (3.2), the Kamloops chief, had heard of the many attacks by enemy war parties on *Pelkamū'lôx* and determined to go and see him. His people tried to dissuade him, telling him it was very dangerous for any one to visit him, for his people had been attacked so often that they trusted no one and attacked all strangers on sight who approached their place. Seeing that *Kwoli'la* was determined to go, the Shuswap and the people of *Nkama'pelaks*, who at that time were a mixture of Shuswap and Okanagon, offered to accompany him in an armed body, but he refused their offer, saying he would go alone. As he was leaving, his people told him, "*Pelkamū'lôx*'s people will kill you before they know who you are, and even if they know, they may kill you." *Kwoli'la* answered, "I am *Pelkamū'lôx*'s brother, and will go and see him alone." Arriving on the open ground before *Pelkamū'lôx*'s house, the people ran out to meet him in battle array. *Pelkamū'lôx* recognized him and was glad to see him. He took him to his house and kept him as his guest for a long time. *Kwoli'la* advised *Pelkamū'lôx* to forsake *Sali'lxᵘ* and go north with him. He told him, "*Salk'lxʷ* is a bad place to live in. You will always have trouble as long as you stay there." *Pəlkamū'lōx* was persuaded. It was early summer, and he and his people traveled north with the *Kwoli'la* to *Komkəna'tko*, "headwaters," now called Fish Lake, in the Nicola country. This place was at that time in Shuswap territory, for the Shuswap claimed the country south of Kamloops around the head of the Nicola River. Stump Lake, Douglas Lake, Fish Lake, and Chaperon Lake were all in Shuswap country. This country at that time was full of elk and deer, and there were also many sheep, bear, and other game. Prairie chicken, grouse of all kinds, and water fowl were plentiful, and the lakes teemed with fish. Here at Fish Lake *Kwoli'la* made a lasting agreement with *Pəlkamū'lōx*, giving him the perpetual use over all the Shuswap territory of the upper Nicola Valley, south, east, and west of Chaperon Lake, comprising Douglas Lake and Fish Lake. The *Stuwī'xəmuxʷ* and *Nkaiya'pəmux* held the country west and south around Nicola Lake and Minnie Lake to the Similkameen. *Kwoli'la* said, "You will have the country for yourself and your people as your own. I will live as your neighbor at *Toqstoi'tcən* (Chaperon Lake) and will retain all the country from there north. You will make Fish Lake your headquarters in the summer and I will summer at Chaperon Lake so that we may be close neighbors part of each year. You will give me your daughter, *Kokcinə'lks* (4.8), to be my foster child and she will always live with me, but your son (4.9) you will keep with yourself." *Pəlkamū'lōx* had only two children at this time, both of them very young. After this *Pəlkamū'lōx* and most of his people spent their summers in their new country with headquarters around Fish Lake and Douglas Lake, and in the wintertime lived at *Nkama'pəlks*. Henceforth *Salk'lxʷ* was deserted of permanent inhabitants and was no longer the main village of the Okanagon. Those people who did not go with *Pəlkamū'lōx* moved north to different parts of the Okanagon Lake country and especially to the head of the lake around *Nkama'pəlks*. The latter place became an important Okanagon center. Not many years after this, owing to its fine grazing, many of the people of the old *Salk'lxʷ* band, and others of the *Nkama'pəlks* band, who were now much mixed with them, began to winter around Douglas Lake and Fish Lake, forming as it were a new band. However, even up to the present day they look upon themselves as merely an offshoot of the *Nkama'pəlks* and Okanagon people and as really one with them. Each year when *Pəlkamū'lōx* left for his winter quarters at *Nkama'pəlks*, *Kwoli'la* at the same time left to winter at Kamloops. Being head chief of the Okanagon, *Pəlkamū'lōx* often traveled to all the bands of the tribe, visiting first here and then there. He also traveled extensively among the neighboring tribes, visiting the *Stuwī'x*, Upper Thompson, Shuswap of Kamloops, and it is said, the Wenatchi, Columbia, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel. He went a number of times buffalo hunting to the plains, by way of the Flathead country, and was therefore well acquainted with chiefs and people of all the tribes to the south and east as far as the Cœur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, Walla-walla, Yakima, Kutenai, Shoshoni, and Blackfoot. On his last trip to the plains his party met near Helena, Mont., the first white men they had seen (viz, Legace and MacDonald, explorers and trappers of the Northwest Co.). On the return trip these men accompanied the party as far west as the Columbia River, where they wintered with the Colville chief. After this *Pɛlkamū'lôx* traveled around in his own country and within the borders of the neighboring tribes, telling of the wonderful men he had seen on his recent trip. *Kwolī'la* invited him to Kamloops to tell of the event. He accompanied the Shuswap to their salmon-fishing and trading rendezvous at Pavilion and Fountain, on Fraser River. Here he was mortally wounded by an arrow, in an altercation with a Lillooet chief. When dying he charged *Kwolī'la* with the guardianship of his son, *Hwistesmexe'qɛn* (4.9), and asked him to see that he avenged his death. (For full particulars of this part of the history of *Pɛlkamū'lôx*, see Dawson, "The Shuswap People," pp. 26, 27; and Wade, "The Thompson Country," pp. 13–15.)

4.1. Āli', married Donald McLean (4.1*a*), in charge of the Hudson Bay Co. post at Kamloops, born 1801, killed in the Chilcotin war 1864. (See Father A. G. Morice, History of Northern British Columbia, pp. 264–270, 279, 307–313.) He had a second wife who was half Shuswap. With her he had three sons, Alan, Charles, and Archibald, who along with Alexander Hare (whose mother was Lower Thompson from Boston Bar), were hanged in 1881 for the murder of whites in the Kamloops district. By a third wife, partly Carrier, he had several children, John and others.

4.2. *Skeo'kwal*	Left descendants among the Spokan.
4.3. *Texmū'wis*	
4.4. *Nxkeeshwo'*	

4.5. *Tak lū'eqxt* (rain cloud, or descending cloud?), married a Shuswap woman (4.5*a*), died at Kamloops, very old. He had other children besides those noted here.

4.6. *Takwū'lkxnxm*, married.

4.7. *Yenemeet'tsa*, "surrounded robe." He had other children besides the one recorded here.

4.8. *Kokoimālks* or *Koimā'lks*, married. She was adopted by *Kwolī'la* (3.2).

4.9. Nicolas *Hwistesmexe'qɛn*, "Walking Grizzly Bear" born 1780–1785, died about 1865. This name is said to be of Spokan origin and was inherited. The name Nicolas was given to him by the traders.

The Indians pronounced it, *Nkwala'*. He married 15 wives (according to other informants 17) from the Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokan, Shuswap, *Stuwi'x*, Thompson, and perhaps others. His children who grew up numbered about 50 and many of their descendants are now living on the Colville, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alêne Reservations as well as in southern British Columbia among the Okanagon, Shuswap, and Thompson. One of his daughters, Mary *Sukomt'lks* (5.7), married one of the Peones (Pion [4]) in the Colville or Spokane country. One of his sons, *Kxaxka'lux* (*Kxaaxkai'lux*) (5.8), "Bad Man," was well known. I did not try to get a list of Chief Nicolas's wives and children as the head chieftainship did not descend to them, but instead to his adopted son and nephew *Tsxlaxi'tsa* (5.10), the son of his sister *Sapxsna'lks* (4.11). Charles *Tcere'pqsm*, a Spokan from the Coeur d'Alêne Reservation and a descendant of Chief Nicolas, visited his friends at Kamloops, Nicola, and Spences Bridge in 1912.

This man became even a more famous chief than his father and the Nicola Valley, Nicola River, and Nicola Lake are named after him. The fur traders called the region of the upper Nicola, "Nicolas's country," and the river which flowed through it "Nicolas's River." Later the lake and valley were given the names from the river. Nicolas was given his name Nicolas by the French Canadian traders who conducted the temporary trading post at the head of Okanagon Lake. When a young man, Nicolas was placed in charge of this post by the trader, who had to leave for a winter. On his return the trader found everthing at the post in good order and many valuable skins collected by Nicolas. In reward he gave the latter a present of 10 guns with plenty of ammunition. About this time the Kamloops chief, *Kwoli'la*, visited him and reminded him of his duty to avenge the death of his father. Nicolas at once prepared himself for the warpath and sent invitations to the neighboring tribes to join him in his war expedition against the Lillooet. It is said about 500 warriors of the Okanagon, Upper Thompson, *Stuwi'x*, and Shuswap assisted Nicolas in this expedition, which swept through most of the Lillooet country. They killed about 300 or 400 Lillooet and took many young women and children captive. On this expedition some of the Lower Lillooet are said to have seen the first horse and heard the first gun—a number of the war party being armed with guns and some of them being mounted on horses. Most of the Lillooet, however, had seen horses on Fraser River long before this date and some of the upper division may have owned horses. Guns, however, were still unknown among them at this time. Both before and after this war expedition the hundreds of warriors made several elk drives in the upper Nicola country on a grand scale, driving great numbers of these animals into inclosures and over cliffs, thus hastening the extermination of elk in that country. (For fuller particulars of this war expedition see McKay in Dawson, "The Shuswap people," pp. 27, 28; Wade, "The Thompson country," pp. 16–19; Teit, "The Lillooet Indians," p. 246.)

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[4] The Peones are descended from a French Canadian Pion (?) who was in the service of the Northwest Co. Peone Prairie in the Spokane country, is named after one of them.

Chief Nicolas, it is said, was quite as widely known as his father and made several trips to the plains buffalo hunting. According to some, on one of these trips he had a fight with the Blackfoot in which the latter were defeated. He was also the chief who came down to Nicola Lake and buried the Thompson and *Stuwi'x* victims of the Shuswap raid at Guichon. (For a mention of this see Smith, "Archaeology of the Thompson River Region," p. 432.) An interesting account of Chief Nicolas's scheme to outwit Tod (who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay post at Kamloops) and take the trading post (about 1846) is mentioned in Bancroft's History of British Columbia and a fuller account is given by Wade. ("The Thompson Country," pp. 63–66.) The fur traders recognized Nicolas as the most powerful and influential chief in the interior of British Columbia. He was noted for his sagacity, prudence, honesty, and fair dealing, and was rather a peacemaker than a fighting man. He was greatly respected by the Indians and his word was law among his own people and even among the neighboring tribes. He overshadowed all the other chiefs of his time in power and influence. Like other head chiefs, he usually had a bodyguard of young warriors who did his bidding and accompanied him on all important trips and visits to neighboring chiefs. During his lifetime the Okanagon and neighboring tribes became acquainted with the white man; first with the fur traders in the very early years of the last century, and then about 50 years later (about 1856–1864) with the first gold miners and settlers. On the advent of the latter, Nicolas used his great influence for their protection and in preventing the Indians making war on them. During the Fraser River trouble between the Thompson and whites (1858–59) he advocated peace although preparing for war, and had the affair not been settled when it was, he might have joined the Thompson against the miners. Although repeatedly asked to join in the Spokan war against the whites, he refused to embroil his people, claiming that he was with King George and the Queen. He was an ally of the latter and wore the medals the Queen and King had presented to him. Having his territory controlled by the Queen, he expected to be dealt fairly with, for the Queen and her subjects, the fur traders, had always been fair with the Indians. He was sorry that the country of the Spokan had come under the control of the Americans. It seems this attitude of Nicolas and the fact that the southern part of the Okanagon country became American territory and the northern part Canadian (the international boundary passing through it a little south of the middle) brought it about that the American Okanagon, after Nicolas's death, recognized a different head chief. According to some his name was *Tōnā'sqɛt.* He was not of chief's descent and, it is said, secured his reputation through war and horse raiding. Chief Nicolas was also noted as a very wealthy man. He had numbers of fine robes and other wealth, large bands of horses, and before 1858 or 1860, had a good many cattle, the first of which he had obtained some years before from Indians and whites or half-breeds in the Colville and Spokan countries. He also cultivated some patches of corn, potatoes, and probably tobacco before 1860. He obtained the seed from traders at Kamloops or from traders and others in the south. Nicolas died at Grand Prairie about 1865, in the fall of the year. His body was taken to Kamloops by a great cortege of Indians and temporarily buried near the Hudson Bay fort. During the winter a large number of Indians remained with the body, and either the traders or the Indians or both kept a guard of honor over it in military style during the winter. In the spring it was exhumed and carried on horses to *Nkama'pɛlɛks,* where it was finally buried. Chief Nicolas generally (or at least very often) wintered at *Nkama'pɛlɛks,* as his father *Pɛlkamū'lôx* had done, and he considered this place his real winter quarters.

An Okanagon informant gave me the following names as those of leading chiefs in various tribes about 1850, or in the latter days of Chief Nicolas. Adam, at Shuswap Lake, leading chief of the "real Shuswap"; William, at Williams Lake, and *Lo'xɛɛm,* at Soda Creek, leading chiefs of the Northern or Fraser River at Shuswap; *Cexpē'ntlɛm,* at Lytton, head chief of the Thompson; *Pā'lak,* at Spuzzum, leading chief of the Lower Thompson; *Kiℓkwa'* or *Kasawi'lɛx,* "become bad," at Fort Shepherd, leading chief of the Lake; *Yilɛmxɛstū'lɛx,* at Kettle Falls, leading chief of the Colville. Gregor *Yokumtikɛm* was chief of the Nkamip band of the Okanagon when they talked with Commissioner Sproat.

One informant told me the following about *Tōnā'sqɛt.*

"*Tōnā'sqɛt* was not a chief nor descended from any chiefs. He first became prominent in the following manner. In 1858 some of the Okanagon were fighting the whites who came overland with pack trains and horses via the Okanagon route to the newly discovered gold diggings in British Columbia. Many of the white parties were killed. Horses were also stampeded and stolen from them. Most of the fighting took place near the British Columbia line. In all there were never more than 70 or 80 Okanagon fighting and most of them had no guns. *Tōnā'sqɛt* was one of their number. Once they fought a large party of whites and stopped them from passing through. They had to retreat and change their direction. Then a still larger party of whites came on the scene. The Indians set fires in the grass on the flanks of the party, and another large fire ahead of them which spread into the trees. They separated and fired shots from behind the fires. The white party came to a halt and made ready for an attack. There were probably less than 20 Indians at this time while the whites must have numbered about 150. *Tōnā'sqxt* made himself leader of the Indians. He left half of his men here and there at the sides and front to shoot off their guns while he with the others rode down on the camp of the whites. The latter thought the Indians were going to attack them and prepared to shoot. *Tōnā'sqxt*, who was ahead, held his gun above his head and called out, "Don't shoot, we are friends." He said to the whites, "I have great numbers of my warriors all around, to the sides, and in front and behind you. They are waiting behind these fires. At my call they will come out and overwhelm you, but I do not want to do this. I want to be your friend and treat you well, but I am chief of all this country and I want you to recognize me by paying some tribute for using and passing through my country." The whites believed him; they wrote down his name and gave him many presents. He and his following then allowed them to pass on, gave them directions, and did not molest them any further. After this, other white parties recognized him as chief, not knowing any better, and always gave him presents. In this way *Tōnā'sqxt* gained considerable influence and came to be called chief, but he was really no chief, although later the American Okanagon recognized him as such to some extent. *Tōnā'sqxt* himself, after Nicolas's death, claimed to be head chief of the Okanagon who lived on the American side of the line.

4.10. *Sukomt'lks*, married a Hudson Bay Co. employee in the Okanagon or Colville country. According to some informants she was a daughter, not a sister, of Chief Nicolas (4.9). There may have been two individuals of the same name. She had more children than those here recorded.

4.11. *Sapχsna'lks*, married *Xalχskwai'lōχ* of *Tutskskū'lōχ* (4.11 *a*), a little below Keremeous, Similkameen. She was the favorite sister of Chief Nicolas. She died giving birth to her first child, who became Chief *Tsxlaxī'tsa* (5.10). Her husband was almost pure Okanagon.

5.1. Donald McLean, married Julienne (5.1 *a*), daughter of Chief Jean Paul, of Kamloops. Donald McLean was famous as fiddler and Government scout. He was living at Kamloops, 1916, aged over 80 years. He had more children than enumerated here.

5.2. Duncan McLean.

5.3. Alexander McLean, living near Kamloops, 1916. He had more children living than enumerated here.

5.4. A daughter, married Donald(?) Manson, Lac La Hache, a Hudson Bay employee or son of a Hudson Bay employee, of Scotch descent.

5.5. *Nxo'mqxn*, "Painted Head," married a Shuswap woman (5.5 *a*.) He died at Kamloops, 1913, as an old man. He had more children besides Julia (6.8).

5.6. *Ratcō'xɛn*, "Tied Arms." He died among the Sanpoil about 1900, a very old man. He had more children besides *Ratcā'xɛn* (6.9).

5.7. Mary *Sukomī'lks*. See 4.9.

5.8. *Kɛɛɛako'lux* (*Kɛsaskai'lɛx*). See 4.9.

5.9. Julie. Married William Poone (5.9 *a*) in the Spokan country.

5.10. *Tsɛlaxī'tsa*, adopted by Chief Nicolas (4.9). He had 12 wives. Best known among them were (1st) an Okanagon woman from *Nkama'pɛlɛks* (5.10 *a*); (2d) *Pana'lks*, "Folded Dress," from *Nkamtci'nɛmux* (Spences Bridge) (5.10 *b*); (3d) Marie *Mɛmī'xtsa*, "Hanging-loose Robe," a Kamloops (5.10 *c*); (4th) Sophie, from Spences Bridge, a younger sister of *Pana'lks* (5.10 *d*); (5th) *Tikumtī'-nɛk*, "Smooth Bow," an Okanagon mixed with Colville (5.10 *e*); (6th) *Seisi'lko*, or *Sisi'ulko*, "Two Waters," of *Ka'lɛmix* (Guichon), Nicola Valley (5.10 *f*); (7th) a woman whose name is not remembered (5.10 *g*); (8th) *Kani'sta*, of *Ka'lɛmtx*, Nicola Valley (5.10 *h*).

Tsɛlaxī'tsa was the most prominent chief in the interior of British Columbia in his day, and was noted as an all-round good man. He was the recognized head chief of the Okanagon tribe on the Canadian side of the line and the only chief of the Okanagon in the Nicola country. He was the chief who carried on the negotiations with Government Commissioner Sproat regarding the tribal territory and hunting and fishing rights of the Okanagon, and the laying off of reservations for the people at Douglas Lake, Fish Lake, Quilchena, Guichon, and around the head of Okanagon Lake (*Nkama'pɛlɛks*, etc.). Like his uncle, Chief Nicolas, he had great faith in the Queen and the Queen's laws, and expected his people to be dealt with by the Government in the fairest manner regarding all the rights that they claimed in the territories inherited from their forefathers. About 1875 and 1876, when there was great dissatisfaction among the interior Salishan tribes in British Columbia because of white settlement on their lands and the failure of the Government to make treaties and proper agreements with them regarding their land and hunting rights, etc., *Tsɛlaxī'tsa* calmed the other chiefs and repressed the people, telling them the Queen would eventually see to it that the Indians would be dealt with fairly. He was friendly to the settlers and did not try to run them off. He simply asked them questions and let them understand that they were trespassing on land still possessed by the Indians. About this time an alliance was formed by most of the Shuswap and Okanagon chiefs for the purpose of a combined attack upon all white settlers, and there only remained the word of Chief *Tsɛlaxī'tsa* to set the country aflame. He stood out against all the others and advocated a peaceful policy. Through his efforts a serious Indian war was avoided. The Indians were appeased shortly afterwards by the arrival of Mr. Sproat and the apparent desire of the Government to acknowledge the rights of the Indians. However, considerable dissatisfaction remained among many. *Tsxlaxi'tsa* was considered a wealthy chief and a good speaker. He died about 1884, after having chosen his son Alexander *Xwistemaxe'qxn* to succeed him as head chief of the tribe. After his death two of his other sons became local chiefs of subbands, and another a church chief (so called). *Tsxlaxi'tsa* survived most of his wives.

6.1. John McLean.

6.2. Rosie McLean.

6.3. Alick McLean, about 1885. In wild excitement, he ran into the Indian village at Kamloops and shot some Indians. When he did the same a second time he was shot by the Indians.

6.4. Charles McLean, lately of Edmonton, Alberta.

6.5. Duncan McLean.

6.6. Alfred McLean.

6.7. John McLean.

6.8. Julie, living 1916 at Kamloops.

6.9. *Batcä'qxn*, living 1911 among the Sanpoil on the Colville Reservation.

6.10. *Nkeaskwai'lxx*.

6.11. A daughter, who married an Okanagon man and has a family.

6.12. *Elxmälpö'smen* or *Iamxlpö'xmxn* (good heart); married *Xaikwa'tko* (— water) (6.12 *a*) and *Sixwä'ltsa* (6.12 *b*), both Thompson from Nicola. He had several children living in 1915. He inherited his father's medals, two of which had belonged to Chief Nicolas, one of them a King George III medal. Shortly after his father's death he became chief of the band at *Kalxmëx* or Guichon. This band was originally *Stuwi'x* and later Thompson and *Stuwi'x*, and not at all in the territory of the Okanagon. Owing to the slaughter of most members of the original band by the Shuswap (see Smith, Archaeology of the Thompson River Region), followed by the settlement of many people of Okanagon origin at the place, the Okanagon element outweighed the Thompson and *Stuwi'x*, and the Douglas Lake chiefs assumed control. *Iamxlpo'xmxn* died about 1901 and his half brother *Tsxlaxi'tsa* (6.16) became chief of the band as well as of that of Douglas Lake.

6.13. George, married, but without issue.

6.14. *Kwoitpi'tsa*, married an Okanagon man and had a family living in 1915.

6.15. Alexander Nicolas (Nicola), *Xwistemexe'qxn*, "Walking Grizzly Bear," and *Sxkxlepkt'qxn*, "Little Coyote Head"; married *Swaxxpt'nxk*, "Surviving Bow," of the upper Thompson (6.15 *a*), who died in 1914. He was hereditary chief of the Okanagon. All his children died young. His adopted son, Tommy Alexander, lives at Fish Lake.

6.16 John Celestin (*Salisa'*), *Tsxlaxt'tsa*, "Standing Robe," married a woman from the Upper Thompson, partly of *Stuwi'x* descent (6.16 *a*). In 1915 he had an only married daughter who lived with her parents. He was chosen by his father to succeed him as head chief of the Okanagon, which title he held by hereditary right and gift. He lives at *Nkama'pɛlɛks* and at Fish Lake, as his fathers before him. He was living in 1916, aged about 74 or 75. Like his father and grand uncle, he is a shrewd man. After his father's death he became church chief by appointment by the priests. After the death of his half brothers, *Iumɛlpä'samɛx* (6.12) and Basil (6.19), he became chief of the Douglas Lake and Guichon bands. He is said to be the wealthiest chief in British Columbia. He made one trip to Europe, visiting England, France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy. He has been several times in Okanagon representing his tribe.

6.17. Saul, died a number of years ago.

6.18. François, died a number of years ago.

6.19. Basil. Became chief of the Douglas Lake band after his father's death, as his half brother Chief Alexander, the head chief, did not wish to act as a band chief. He was shot and killed, in a brawl among Indians on the Granite Creek Trail, by Charles *Sxpɛxpɛpā'xɛn*, "Striped (?) Arms," of *Nsē'skɛt*, Nicola division of the Upper Thompson, about 1885. He was succeeded as chief by his half brother, John *Tsxlaxt'tsa*.

6.20. Narcisse, died a number of years ago.

6.21. Michel, married Therèse (6.21 *a*), of the Upper Thompson, mixed with the Colville. She is a younger sister of the shaman Baptiste *Tlulamē'lɛt*, "Iron Stone," who lived at Potato Gardens, on Nicola River, 16 miles from Spences Bridge. The family were half Upper Thompson and half Colville mixed with Okanagon.

6.22. *Kopkopɛ'lɛt*, married *Tsɛlɛtɛ'lks* (6.22 *a*), of Douglas Lake, a daughter of *Tsɛst'nɛk*, "Standing Bow," a sister to *Kanpē'tsa*, "sticking out bottom of robe," of the Spences Bridge band. This family is half Upper Thompson and half Okanagon in blood.

6.23. *Sɛpɛxmā'lks*, married Napoleon, of the Nicola Thompson. He died a number of years ago.

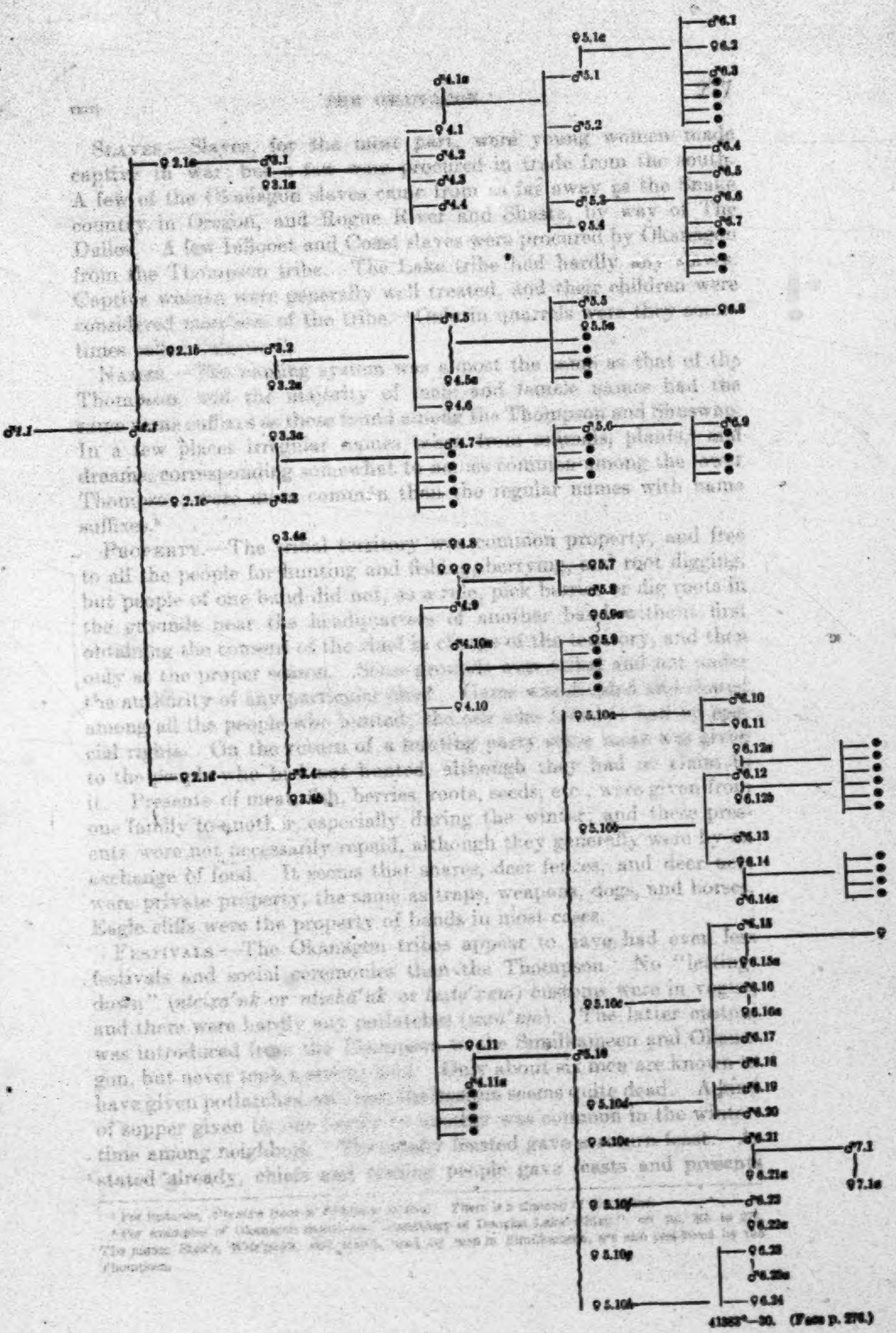
6.24. A woman whose name is not remembered. She was shot and killed by her husband, who shortly afterwards was shot and killed by her (?) relatives.

7.1. James Michel, married Maggie, a Thompson woman from Lytton. She was reared on the Colville Reservation in Washington, being fostered by a sister of his mother, who was married there. He received some education in the American schools and when he grew to manhood came back to his native place, where he received a share in the reservation at Guichon. He died near 1903 aged about 40 years. He had no children. After his death his wife went to the Quilchena Creek Reserve, Upper Thompson tribe, where she was living, 1916.

INDIVIDUALS IN OKANAGON GENEALOGY

1.1. *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* (Upper Spokan); born about 1675. See p. 263.
2.1. *Pᴇlkamū'lôx* (Upper Spokan); born about 1705. See p. 264.
2.1*a*. A Spokan woman. See p. 264.
2.1*b*. A Shuswap woman, Kamloops. See p. 264.
2.1*c*. A Sanpoil woman. See p. 264.
2.1*d*. An Okanagon woman, daughter of the chief of *Salī'lxu*. See p. 264.
3.1. Man, name unknown. See p. 264.
3.1*a*. A Spokan woman. See p. 264.
3.2. *Kwolī'la*. Shuswap chief, Kamloops. See pp. 264, 265, 268.
3.2*a*. A Kamloops woman. See p. 264.
3.3. *Sixwī'lᴇxkᴇn*. Sanpoil chief. See p. 265.
3.3*a*. A Sanpoil woman. See p. 265.
3.4. *Pelkamū'lôx*. Head chief of the Okanagon. See p. 265.
3.4*a*. An Okanagon woman from *Nkama'pᴇlks*. See p. 265.
3.4*b*. A *Stuwī'x* woman, perhaps partly Thompson. See p. 265.
4.1. *Ālī'*. See p. 267.
4.1*a*. Donald McLean. A Scotchman. See p. 267.
4.2. *Skwa'lkwᴇl*. See p. 267.
4.3. *Tᴇxmū'wia*. See p. 267.
4.4. *Nᴇkeeskwa'*. See p. 267.
4.5. *Tak.lē'sqᴇt* p. 267.
4.5*a*. A Shuswa[illegible]an. See p. 267.
4.6. *Tahwū'lks* See p. 267.
4.7. *Yenamusī'* See p. 267.
4.8. *Kokoimū'lks* or *Koimū'lks*. See pp. 264, 266, 267.
4.9. Nicolas *Xwistᴇmxᴇ'qᴇn*. Born about 1780. See pp. 266, 267–270, 271, 272.
4.10. *Sukomē'lks*. See p. 271.
4.10*a*. An employee of the Hudson Bay Company. See p. 271.
4.11. *Sapxᴇna'lks*. See pp. 268, 271.
4.11*a*. *Xalᴇkskwai'lôx*. See p. 271.
5.1. Donald McLean. See p. 271.
5.1*a*. Julienne, daughter of Chief Jean Paul, Kamloops. See p. 271.
5.2. Duncan McLean. See p. 271.
5.3. Alexander McLean. See p. 271.
5.4. A daughter, married Donald Manson, of Scotch descent. See p. 271.
5.5. *Nxo'mqᴇn*. See p. 272.
5.5*a*. A Shuswap woman. See p. 272.
5.6. *Ratcū'xᴇn*. See p. 272.

5.7. Mary *Sukomē'lks.* See pp. 268, 272.
5.8. *Kᴇsᴇska'lux̣* (*Kesaskai'lex̣*). See pp. 259, 260, 268, 272.
5.9. Julie. See p. 272.
5.9*a*. William Peone. See p. 272.
5.10. *Tsᴇlax̣ī'tsa.* See pp. 268, 271–273.
5.10*a*. An Okanagon woman from *Nkamā'pᴇlᴇks.* See p. 272.
5.10*b*. *Panā'lks,* a Spences Bridge woman. See p. 272.
5.10*c*. *Marie Mᴇmī'x̣tsa,* a Kamloops woman. See p. 272.
5.10*d*. Sophie, younger sister of 5.10*b*. See p. 272.
5.10*e*. *Tikumtī'nᴇk,* an Okanagon-Colville woman. See p. 272.
5.10*f*. *Seisi'tko, Sisi'ntko,* a Nicola woman. See p. 272.
5.10*g*. A woman whose name is not remembered. See p. 272.
5.10*h*. *Kanī'tsa,* a Nicola woman. See p. 272.
6.1. John McLean. See p. 273.
6.2. Rosie McLean. See p. 273.
6.3. Alick McLean. See p. 273.
6.4. Charles McLean. See p. 273.
6.5. Duncan McLean. See p. 273.
6.6. Alfred McLean. See p. 273.
6.7. John McLean. See p. 273.
6.8. Julie. Kamloops. See pp. 272, 273.
6.9. *Ratcā'x̣ᴇn.* Colville. See pp. 272, 273.
6.10. *Nkeaskai'lᴇx.* See p. 273.
6.11. A woman of unknown name. See p. 273.
6.12. *Elᴇmᴇlpōsᴇmᴇn* (*Iamᴇlpōsᴇmᴇn*). Guichon. See pp. 273, 274.
6.13. George. See p. 273.
6.14. *Kwoitpī'tsa.* See p. 273.
6.15. Alexander Nicolas *Xwistesmex̣e'qᴇn.* Head chief of the Okanagon. See p. 273.
6.15*a*. *Swax̣ᴇpī'nᴇk.* Upper Thompson. See p. 273.
6.16. John Celestin. *Tsᴇlax̣ī'tsa.* See pp. 273, 274.
6.16*a*. Upper Thompson woman. See p. 274.
6.17. Saul. See p. 274.
6.18. François. See p. 274.
6.19. Basil. See p. 274.
6.20. Narcisse. See p. 274.
6.21. Michel. See p. 274.
6.21*a*. Therèse. Upper Thompson woman. See p. 274.
6.22. *Kopkopēllst.* See p. 274.
6.22*a*. *Tsalutā'lks.* Douglas Lake. See p. 274.
6.23. *Sapx̣ᴇnā'lks.* See p. 274.
6.23*a*. Napoleon. Nicola Thompson. See p. 274.
6.24. A woman, name forgotten. See p. 274.
7.1. James Michel. See p. 274.
7.2. Maggie, a Lytton woman. See p. 274.


♂1.1
♀2.1a
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♂6.19
♂6.20
♂6.21
♀6.21a
♂6.22
♀6.22a
♀6.23
♂6.23a
♀6.24
♂7.1
♀7.1a

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5.7. [illegible] See pp. 268, 272.

5.8. [illegible] See pp. [illegible], 268, 272.

5.9. Julie. See p. 272.

5.9a. William [illegible] See p. 272.

5.10. [illegible] See pp. 268, 272–274.

5.10a. An Okanagon woman from *Nkamä'peleks*. See p. 272.

5.10b. [illegible], a Spences Bridge woman. See p. 272.

5.10c. [illegible], a Kamloops woman. See p. 272.

5.10d. Sophie, younger sister of Julie. See p. 272.

5.10e. [illegible], an Okanagon-Colville woman. See p. 272.

5.10f. [illegible] See p. 272.

5.10g. A woman whose name is not remembered. See p. 272.

5.10h. [illegible] See p. 272.

6.1. John McLean. See p. 272.

6.2. Rosie McLean. See p. 273.

6.3. Alick McLean. See p. 273.

6.4. Charles McLean. See p. 273.

6.5. Duncan McLean. See p. 273.

6.6. Alfred McLean. See p. 273.

6.7. John McLean. See p. 273.

6.8. Julie. Kamloops. See pp. 272, 273.

6.9. [illegible] Colville. See pp. 272, 273.

6.10. [illegible] See p. 273.

6.11. A woman of unknown name. See p. 273.

6.12. [illegible] ([illegible]). [illegible] See pp. 273, 274.

6.13. George. See p. 273.

6.14. [illegible] See p. 273.

6.15. Alexander Nicolas [illegible] Head chief of the Okanagon. See p. 273.

6.15a. [illegible] Upper Thompson. See p. 273.

6.16. John [illegible] See pp. 273, 274.

6.16a. Upper Thompson woman. See p. 274.

6.17. Saul. See p. 274.

6.18. François. See p. 274.

6.19. Basil. See p. 274.

6.20. Narcisse. See p. 274.

6.21. Michel. See p. 274.

6.21a. Therèse. Upper Thompson woman. See p. 274.

6.22. [illegible] See p. 274.

6.22a. [illegible] Douglas Lake. See p. 274.

6.23. [illegible] See p. 274.

6.23a. Napoleon. Nicola Thompson. See p. 274.

6.24. A woman, name forgotten. See p. 274.

7.1. James Michel. See p. 274.

7.2. Maggie. Lytton woman. See p. 274.

Slaves.—Slaves, for the most part, were young women made captive in war; but a few were procured in trade from the south. A few of the Okanagon slaves came from as far away as the Snake country in Oregon, and Rogue River and Shasta, by way of The Dalles. A few Lillooet and Coast slaves were procured by Okanagon from the Thompson tribe. The Lake tribe had hardly any slaves. Captive women were generally well treated, and their children were considered members of the tribe. Only in quarrels were they sometimes called "slaves."

Names.—The naming system was almost the same as that of the Thompson, and the majority of male and female names had the same name suffixes as those found among the Thompson and Shuswap. In a few places irregular names taken from animals, plants,[5] and dreams, corresponding somewhat to names common among the lower Thompson, were more common than the regular names with name suffixes.[6]

Property.—The tribal territory was common property, and free to all the people for hunting and fishing, berrying, and root digging, but people of one band did not, as a rule, pick berries or dig roots in the grounds near the headquarters of another band without first obtaining the consent of the chief in charge of the territory, and then only at the proper season. Some grounds were tribal and not under the authority of any particular chief. Game was divided and shared among all the people who hunted; the one who killed it had no special rights. On the return of a hunting party some meat was given to the people who had not hunted, although they had no claim to it. Presents of meat, fish, berries, roots, seeds, etc., were given from one family to another, especially during the winter; and these presents were not necessarily repaid, although they generally were by an exchange of food. It seems that snares, deer fences, and deer nets were private property, the same as traps, weapons, dogs, and horses. Eagle cliffs were the property of bands in most cases.

Festivals.—The Okanagon tribes appear to have had even less festivals and social ceremonies than the Thompson. No "letting-down" (*ntcixa'nk* or *ntsehā'nk* or *toxto'xᴇm*) customs were in vogue; and there were hardly any potlatches (*wau'ᴇm*). The latter custom was introduced from the Thompson to the Similkameen and Okanagon, but never took a strong hold. Only about six men are known to have given potlatches, and now the custom seems quite dead. A kind of supper given by one family to another was common in the winter-time among neighbors. The family feasted gave a return feast. As stated already, chiefs and leading people gave feasts and presents from time to time. Singing and dancing were indulged in at nearly all entertainments and gatherings.

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[5] For instance, *Ā'tsamᴇn* (root of *Fritillaria pudica*). There is a shaman of this name.

[6] For examples of Okanagon names see "Genealogy of Douglas Lake Chiefs," on pp. 262 to 276. The names *Skē'is*, *Wei'pkᴇn*, and others, used by men in Similkameen, are also employed by the Thompson.

Musical Instruments.—Drums used to beat time for singing and dancing were exactly like those of the Thompson. Rattles were also used in singing and dancing. They consisted of pebbles inclosed in wood, horn, or hide. Deer-hoof rattles attached to the ankles, knees, waist, elbows, and wrists were used. Others were attached to the end of a short stick. Beating of sticks on a hide or a board was also common in some kinds of dancing and singing. Rasps of notched sticks were also in vogue. In a few dances, such as the praying dance, there was no accompaniment to the singing. Flutes and whistles of several kinds were in use for serenading, but they were not used at dances.

Pipes and Smoking.—Smoking was indulged in by nearly all the adult men and by some of the women. Ceremonial smoking was practiced, especially at the beginning of serious undertakings, such as councils. Long ago the tubular pipe was in use. Some of these had figures of animals carved along the top and others were carved like an animal's mouth.[1] The simple bowl pipe was also in use, and the elbow pipe, which in later days supplanted all others. A disk-shaped stone pipe[2] was fairly common among the Okanagon, but I have not heard of its use among the Thompson. It may have been introduced from the south. Pipes were sometimes made of knots of wood. The tobacco smoked was the same kind as that used by the Thompson, and the kinnikinnick was also the same. It is said that a kind of clay pipe was sometimes made long ago.

XI. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, DEATH

Pregnancy.—Numerous restrictions were put on a pregnant woman, especially during her first pregnancy. The object was to insure health and strength to the woman and her child, an easy delivery, and safety from supernatural harm for both mother and child. Pregnancy, especially the first time, was considered "mystery" in almost the same degree as adolescence and menstruation. The restrictions were almost the same as among the Thompson. The most important during the first pregnancy were the following: The woman had to wash and bathe regularly in cold water. She prayed to the Day Dawn. She had to avoid all bad smells, quarreling, agitation, and anything that might surprise or shock her. She must not eat any flesh of large game, but only that of birds and fish. She must not eat turtle. All flesh that she ate must be at least a day old. Her husband had to bathe often and to pray and purify in the sweat house.

Birth.—Women at childbirth were attended by an older woman, generally the mother, aunt, or grandmother, sometimes by more than one. The afterbirth was treated in the same way as among the Thompson.[1]

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[1] See *g*, fig. 113; Field Mus. 111743.

[2] See *i*, figs. 107-109.

TWINS.—Restrictions regarding twins were not as strict as among the Thompson. They resembled more those of the Shuswap. Many families had no special observances for twins. Some of the Similkameen who had twins lived apart from other people, and went through all the "twin" ceremonies customary among the Thompson.[2]

CARRIERS.—The board carrier and the carrying bag were universally used. Board carriers were of the same general types as those of the Thompson. Some boards were low or short, not much, if any, longer than the height of the infant; while some others were high, from about a quarter to a third of the board being above the child's head. Board carriers were of three general shapes at the head. One kind was rounded;[3] a second kind had an angular top;[4] and the third kind had an extension above the top, sometimes called a "head," from 15 to 30 cm. high, which served as a handle. This projection was carved in different shapes, round forms predominating.[5] Board carriers with square or almost square tops are said to have been common only among the Lake tribe. The bags attached to the boards were of dressed skin, and of the same styles as those used by the Thompson. The most common kind was loose except at the shoulders or head, where it was fastened to the board. The lacing was not in the bag itself, but consisted of a wide strap passing through loops in the side of the board.[6] Carriers with a narrow headboard projecting outward from near the head of the backboard were common except among the Lake, who, it seems, did not use this style. Hoops on board carriers were universal, at least during the last three or four generations. As a rule, the hoop was separate from the bag and was adjusted with strings, as among the Thompson. Most Thompson carriers had two strings stretching from the top of the board to the hoop around which they were twisted, the opposite ends being fastened near the foot of the carrier. By manipulation of these strings the hoop was lowered or raised as required. An old style, sometimes used by Okanagon and Lake, had the hood or upper part of the bag stitched to the hoop, doing away with the necessity of head strings, foot strings only being required. (Fig. 19.) The Lake tribe say that long ago some of their carriers had low hoops to which the hood of the bag was stitched or fastened, other carriers had very high hoops unattached to the hood, and some carriers had no hoops at all. Boards with handholes at the sides were in use, and in later times this kind almost entirely superseded those with handles at the top. They are said to be more convenient for lifting and carrying. Babies were wrapped in soft robes of fawn skin, rabbit skin, lynx skin, etc. Bedding consisted of shredded bark, grass, and occasionally down of plants. Among the Sanpoil the bedding for bark carriers consisted generally of bulrush down or duck's down; but dry grass and finely teased bark were sometimes used. The Similkameen, Lake, and Colville claim that they used only boards; no bark carriers. The Okanagon say that they have always used board carriers, but that long ago a few families also used bark carriers for very young infants. These were simply beds used in the lodge, and not for carrying purposes. When the child had to be carried a board was used. The Nespelim and Sanpoil say that very long ago bark carriers were used entirely, or almost entirely, by them. The shapes of these were similar to the forms of bark carriers of the Thompson. The most ancient kind were very deep and had no lacings and hoops. The baby was fastened in with a long band of dressed skin, or sometimes a rope, which was lashed round the carrier. A few had large loops on the sides, through which the lashing passed, as in some board carriers;[7] but this is thought to be more modern than the simple lashing around the outside of the carrier. Later, shallow bark carriers with hoops were often used. The deep carriers did not require hoops. About six or seven generations ago boards came into use and within a short time became quite common. The first kind adopted consisted of a simple board, in most cases reaching to the neck of the infant. The child, wrapped in a fur robe which came over its head, was strapped on the board by a lashing round and round, as in the oldest bark carriers. Later it became common to fasten flaps of skin to the sides of the board, which laced in front over the infant. Infants were also placed in skin bags and lashed to the board. Later the backs of these bags were frequently stitched to the board, and thus became a permanent attachment of the latter. The front of the bag was fastened with a lacing. Still later, hoops came into use to spread the hood of the bag or to hold the carrier covering—a small, light robe or a skin—off the child's face. This top covering was used to shade the child's face when it slept, to cover it when mosquitoes and flies were abundant, and to protect it against cold and wind when traveling. For a long

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[1] *a*, p. 304.

[2] *a*, pp. 310, 311.

[3] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 281; Shuswap, *c*, fig. 251 *a*.

[4] See Shuswap, *c*, fig. 251 *b*, *d*.

[5] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 281 *b*.

[6] See Thompson, *a*, fig. 281.

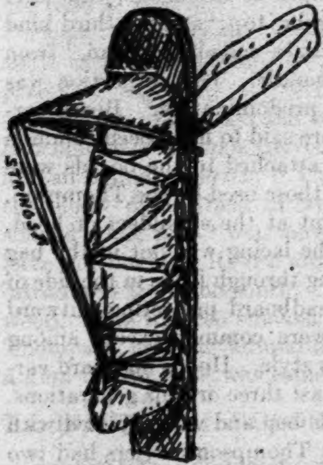

FIGURE 19.—Cradle board

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[7] See Thompson, a, p. 307, fig. 251.

time after board carriers had come into full use bark carriers were retained by many families as beds for young babies in the lodges. When the mother returned from a journey the baby was taken off the board and placed in the bark basket. Drains made of various kinds of bark, sometimes of hide and rarely of wood, were used with bark carriers, especially for male infants. Shorter drains were also common with board carriers. I did not learn whether hammocks were used. It seems that no carriers made of rods woven together, and none of basketry, were made by any of the tribes. A few were made of stiff hide, when bark or boards were difficult to obtain. When a child had outgrown the bark and board carriers, carrying bags similar to those of the Thompson were used by all the tribes. It seems that the kind most common among the Sanpoil was of dressed skin, fawn skin, and sometimes bear skin. It opened at the shoulders or sides, had two straps which passed between the infant's legs, and an attached carrying-strap.[8] A kind used by the Similkameen, and also to a slight extent by the Okanagon, but probably not by the other tribes, was like the bags attached to board carriers. All had a lacing up the front, and an attached tump line. Some were stiffened at the back with a piece of hide or stiff dressed skin the full length of the bag. The foot parts of many bags were gathered up like the toe of a round-toed moccasin, either by stitching or with a draw string. The hood, or upper part of the bag above the lacing, was sometimes fixed in the same way. Occasionally the hood was stiffened or expanded with a light hoop sewed to the edge. The hood parts of some bags were large and projected forward considerably over the child's head.

Navel-string pouches were used by all the tribes, and were generally attached to the carrier. Instead of making a navel-string pouch and attaching it to the carrier the mother might also wrap up the navel string and hide it in a bag which she kept herself. Some of the Okanagon attached the pouch to the head of the carrier.

HEAD DEFORMATION.—No head flattening was practiced, but some people think that the carrier board had the effect of shortening the heads of infants, as infants were always laid on their backs and hard pillows were often used. Soft pillows of skin stuffed with feathers or down were used by all careful mothers.

FOSTERING OF CHILDREN.—Fostering of children was quite common. People who had many children gave some to friends and relatives to rear as their own children. Some of these children later returned to their parents, while others remained forever with their foster parents.

EDUCATION.—Much attention was paid to the education of children. They were seldom beaten by their parents. Generally the elders of each family admonished and instructed the children. The father, uncles, and grandfathers instructed the boys, and the mother, aunts, and grandmothers, the girls. Elder brothers and sisters also helped in the instruction of the juniors.

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[8] Ottawa Museum, Nos. 147, 149-151.

The ordeal of whipping the children was practiced in the wintertime, at least by the Okanagon and Similkameen. It was particularly common among the latter.

Puberty.—At puberty both sexes underwent a training similar to that customary among the Thompson, but seemingly less full. They washed and bathed in running water at least once a day. Girls prayed to the Day Dawn each morning, and rubbed their bodies with fir boughs when bathing to make themselves strong. The ceremonies performed by girls for making their bodies pure and clean, and those connected with fir branches and bathing, at least among the Similkameen and Okanagon, were the same as among the Thompson. A story is related in Similkameen of a poor orphan girl who performed no ceremonies of purification. She was devoured by lice near a little creek below Ashnola, and the place takes its name from this incident. Some people point out a little mound there as her grave. A common practice of girls was to make circles of stones. Sometimes other figures were made, such as squares, oblongs, diamonds, and crosses. Some circles were quite small, while others were from 1½ to 2 meters in diameter. In some circles the stones were put quite close together and in others some distance apart. Most stones were rather flat, light-colored, smooth, waterworn bowlders, weighing from 3 to 6 pounds; but different circles varied considerably in the size of the stones used. The circles were made on the ground or on the tops of flat bowlders, and often the girls carried the stones from a considerable distance, meanwhile praying that in after years their bodies might be strong and capable of carrying heavy burdens with ease. It is said that each stone represented a wish or prayer of the girl. Stones placed in the center or in pairs inside the circle represented special prayers. Some Similkameen say that the stones represented wishes, prayers, and offerings. Those representing prayers were generally placed down in the eastern part of the ring. Sometimes the girl sat down in the middle, and placed the stones down one at a time all round her, following the sun's course. As she placed each one down she made a prayer, stating what each was a token of.[9] As a rule a circle was not completed in one night, but the girl added stones from time to time. The hard and enduring nature of the stones was sometimes mentioned in prayers, the girls asking that their bodies be as strong and enduring as these stones. As a rule the circles were made within sight of trails. Occasionally some of the stones were painted red all over or with figures in red paint. In 1907 I saw in the canyon of Similkameen River many remains of stone circles made by girls on the top of flat bowlders, which are very numerous along parts of the trail. The sides of many bowlders at this place are painted.

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[9] Compare custom of Thompson, Okanagon, Shuswap, Kutenai, and probably other tribes, of making offerings of stones at certain places. Prayers were made at the same time to the deity of the place, asking for good luck in hunting, good weather, prevention from harm. Each person placed down a stone, and passers-by did the same, so that heaps of small stones were formed.

It seems that adolescents of some families in all the tribes used scratchers, paint scratchers, drinking tubes, and whistles, as among the Thompson, while those of other families did not use them.

Boys went through a prolonged period of sweat bathing and training, for the acquisition of guardian spirits, for increasing the litheness and strength of the body, and gaining proficiency in marksmanship, games, hunting, and other occupations. Songs were generally acquired in conjunction with the guardian spirit.

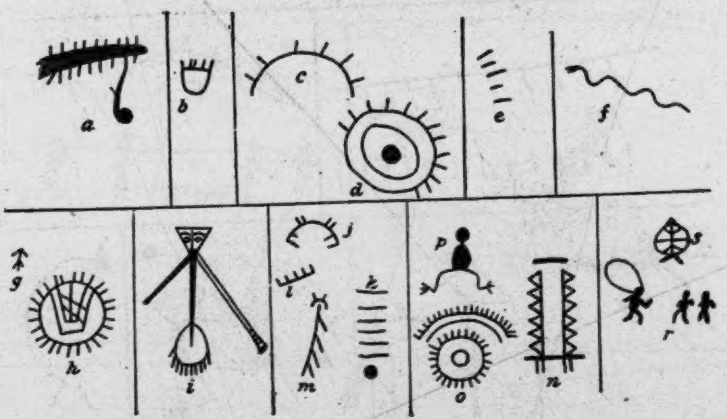

FIGURE 20.—Rock paintings

a, *b*. From a bowlder near Ashnola; *a*, said to represent some natural feature of the country; *b*, black bear; *c*, *d*, said to represent some natural feature of the country; short lines, trees; *e*, probably a count of fir needles; *f*, snake. *g*, *h*. From Tliin near Keremeous; *g*, fir branch; *h*, said to be the sun or a lake surrounded by trees with a projecting bluff. *i–p*. On a cliff at the Forks (explanations uncertain); *i*, a guardian spirit; *k*, probably a count of fir branches; *l*, *m*, fir branch with needles plucked from one side; *n*, ranges of mountains with valley in between; *o*, sun or lake surrounded by trees; *p*, toad. *r*, *s*. On a cliff on the east side of Okanagon Lake, Penticton and Mission; *r*, meeting of several persons, the one with a circle a guardian spirit; *s*, unknown.

In connection with the training period, adolescents of both sexes made records of remarkable dreams, pictures of what they desired or what they had seen, and events connected with their training. These records were made with red paint on bowlders or cliffs, wherever the surface was suitable. (Figs. 20–24.) Rock paintings in their territory are plentiful; but I heard of no petroglyphs, except that sometimes figures of various kinds were incised in hard clay. Rock paintings were made also by adults as records of notable dreams, and more rarely of incidents in their lives. Pictures were also cut into the bark of trees, and some were burned into the wood of trees. (Fig. 25.)

Flutes of wood and long bone whistles were worn on a string around the neck, and were used by young men at puberty, and later, for imitating the notes of birds and for serenading girls to whom they took a fancy.

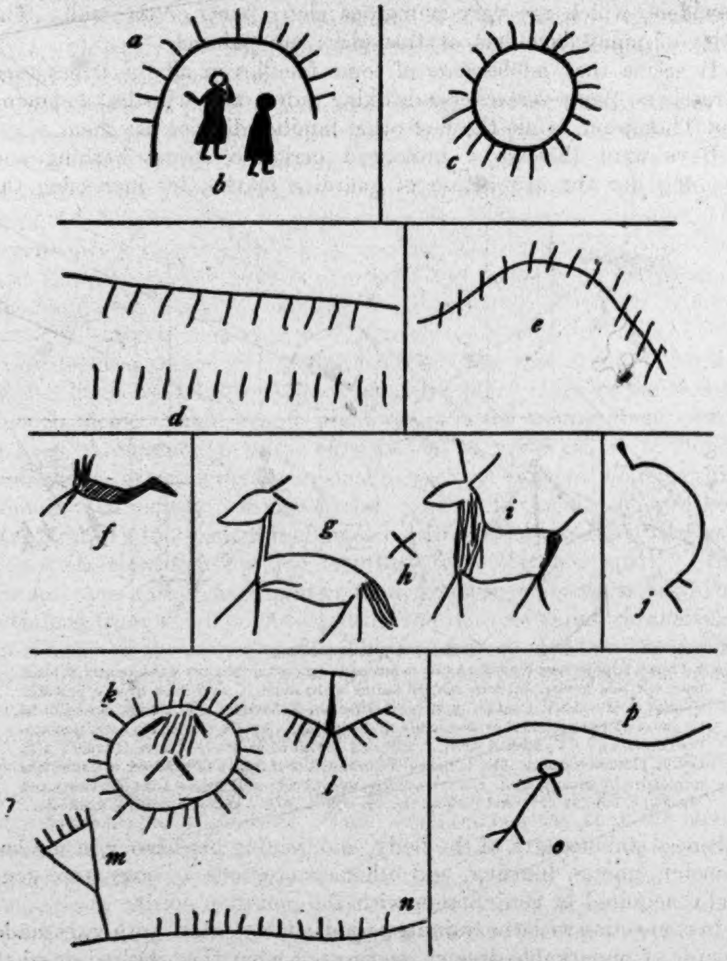

Figure 21.—Rock paintings, Similkameen Valley

a–d, On bowlders 17½ and 18 miles below Princeton; *a*, sun on hill with trees; *b*, people; *c*, the sun; *d*, a count of fir needles; *e*, a hill with trees; *f*, a bird; *g*, a horse; *h*, horse trails; *i*, deer; *j*, rainbow; *k*, sun or earth with trees, *l*, *m*, *n*, visions of an adolescent, meaning doubtful; *o*, *p*, an animal near a trail.

At a place called "Standing Rock" (or "where the stone sticks out") in Similkameen Valley, youths undergoing their training congregated to test themselves. A large, steep rock about 7 meters high rises abruptly near the trail at this place. The young men tried to run up to the top along the sloping side and then slide down. A man called *Kwɛltē′sqɛt* ("red cloud" or "emptying cloud") is the only one now living who has accomplished this feat.

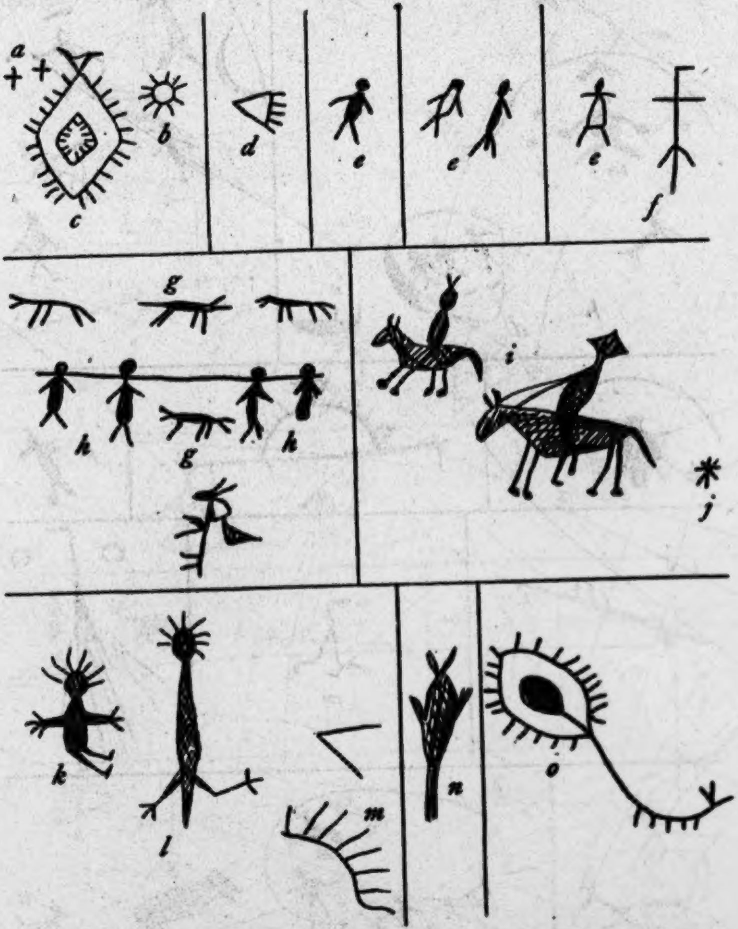

FIGURE 22.—Rock paintings on a cliff near Tcutcawi′xa, Similkameen Valley

a, Stars; *b*, sun; *c*, lake with trees, island with trees in the middle; *d*, grizzly bear; *e*, men; *f*, eagle; *g*, dogs or other animals with open mouths; *h*, people; *i*, men on horseback; *j*, star; *k*, *l*, men with feather headdresses; *m*, unfinished matting; *n*, a bird; *o*, stream running out of a lake with an island.

Throwing, lifting, and carrying heavy stones were practiced to gain strength. Boys prayed that they might become strong. Boys

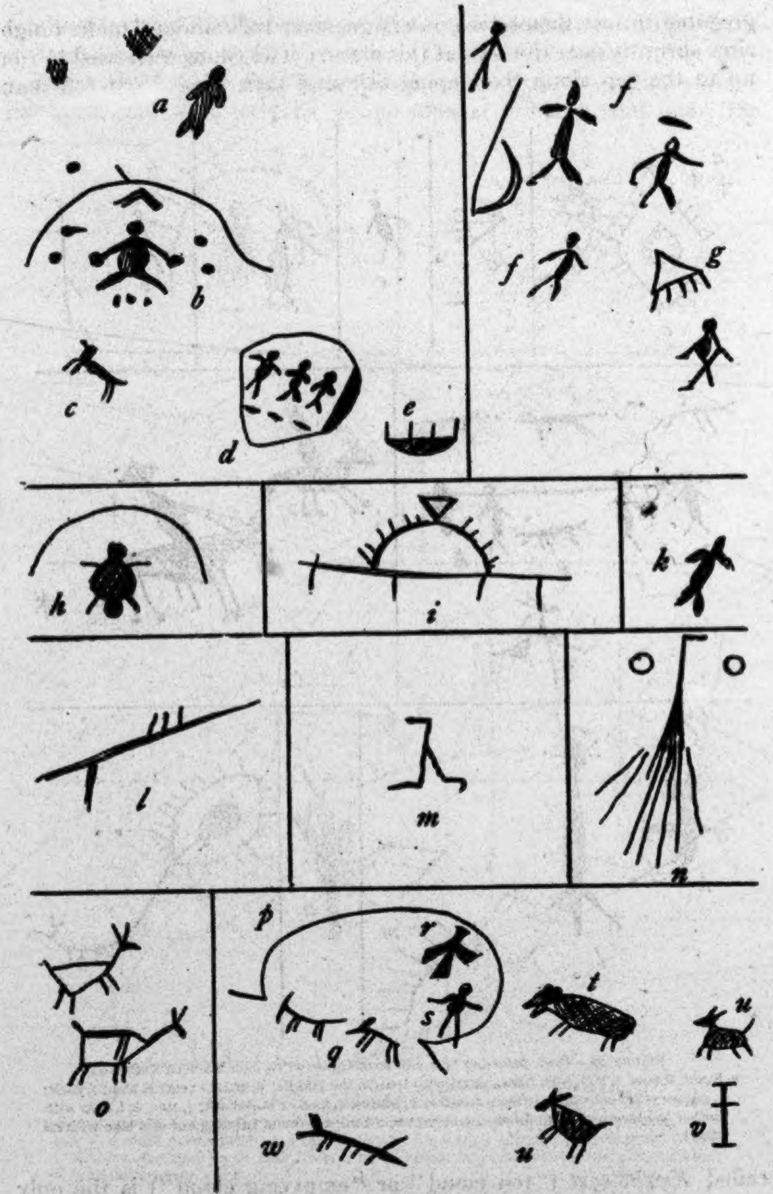

FIGURE 23.—Rock paintings near Princeton

a–e. On a cliff 19 miles below Princeton; *a*, man; *b*, doubtful; *c*, an animal running; *d*, three men walking; *e*, grizzly bear. *f–o.* On bowlders near the preceding; *f–w*, on a cliff near the preceding; *f*, men walking; *g*, grizzly bear; *h*, beaver in his house; *i*, rising sun and earth line; *k*, man; *l*, *m*, doubtful; *n*, probably eagle and stars; *o*, deer or sheep; *p*, probably a corral for game; *q*, animals at the entrance; *r*, bird, probably guardian spirit of the man; *s*, man; *t*, bear; *u*, deer; *v*, an animal, head and forelegs; *w*, doubtful.

at puberty are said to have practiced throwing stones to make their arms strong. Small stones were thrown at marks, and some lads became so expert that they seldom missed. They could kill small game with stones almost every time they tried.

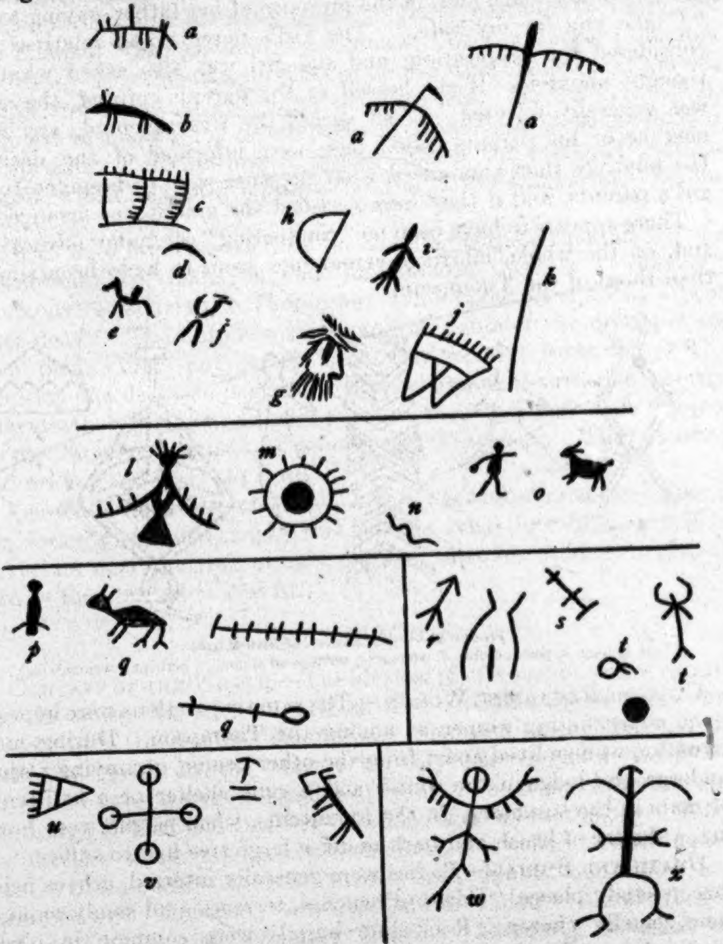

FIGURE 24.—Rock paintings

a–k. Found on bowlder 18 miles below Princeton; a eagles; b, wolf or coyote; c, bear's tracks; d, moon; e, person on horseback; f, person; g, doubtful; h, moon; i, animal; j, grizzly bear tracks; k, trail. l–o. On a bowlder about 19 miles below Princeton; l, eagle; m, sun or pond surrounded by trees; n, snake; o, man meeting a deer. p–x. On a cliff and in a cave near Tcut'awi'xa, Similkameen Valley; p, man; q, animals; r, fir branch; s, animal; t, insects; u, grizzly bear; v, four quarters; w, eagle; x, an insect or a vision.

MARRIAGE.—As among the Thompson, there were marriages by betrothal, placing down of gifts, and by touching. Elopements also occurred. Many marriages were arranged by "go-betweens," generally relatives of one or both families; sometimes by one or more of the parents directly, and occasionally by the chief of the band. A direct form of proposal appears to have been fairly common among the Similkameen and Okanagon, the young man going directly to the girl in her lodge and, in the presence of her father, saying to her, "I take you for my wife." The girl's parents and relatives then considered the proposition, and the girl was also asked what she thought about it. If she herself or the parents refused, the suitor was generally rejected. If all agreed, he was accepted, and when next he or his parents called they were informed of the decision. His relatives then announced what presents were to be given to the girl's parents, and if they were satisfied the match was arranged.

There appears to have been no "conducting" ceremony (*okawa'it*),[10] and, on the whole, marriage ceremonies seem to have been simpler than those of the Thompson.

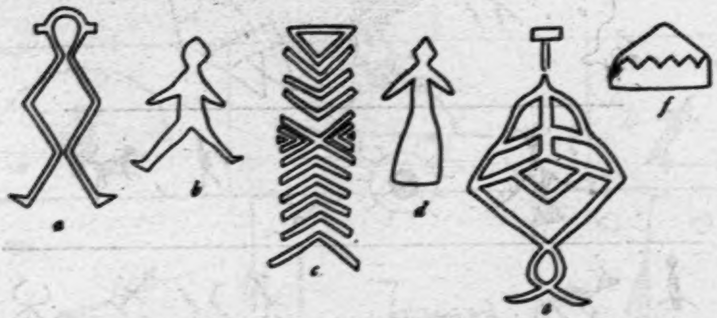

FIGURE 25.—Figures incised in bark of trees

a, Girl; *b*, man; *c*, perhaps ribs; *d*, woman; *e*, perhaps an animal; *f*, perhaps a woman's cap.

Customs Regarding Women.—The same restrictions were imposed upon menstruating women as among the Thompson. During menstruation women lived apart from the other people, occupying a semi-underground lodge in the winter and a rude shelter or a half tent[11] of mats in the summer. In the mountains, when people were hunting, a shelter of brush and bark under a large tree had to suffice.

Death and Burial.—Bodies were generally interred, graves being dug in sandy places. Edges of benches, terraces, and sandy mounds were usually chosen. Rock-slide burials were common in places where slopes of slide rock abounded. Heaps of rocks were placed over graves, especially over shallow graves. Deeper graves were often surrounded by a circle of rocks. A slender pole was generally erected at the head of the grave. Among the Okanagon canoes were sometimes hauled up on top of the grave. In 1904 I saw fragments of canoes lying on old graves near Ashnola, Similkameen.

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[10] See Thompson, *c*, p. [illegible].

[11] See p. [illegible].

A few grave effigies were used in Similkameen, especially from Keremeous down, and among the Lower Okanagon. It seems that the custom of erecting effigies and depositing canoes was more or less common in the western part of the interior Salishan country, as far east as a line following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson and Lillooet. The custom may be due to Coast or Lower Columbia influence. It seems that no tents or houses were erected over graves. Fences and crosses at graves are quite modern. Bodies were flexed, wrapped in matting or occasionally in robes, and generally buried on the side. I did not hear of tying bodies to the trunks of trees—a custom which has been reported for the Lower Okanagon. Bodies were never burned.

There were fewer restrictions on handling corpses than among the Thompson. In Okanagon and Similkameen there is a "paying" ceremony, as among the Thompson. This takes place about a year after death. The burial expenses and all debts of the deceased are then paid. It is not certain that this custom is ancient. The property of a deceased person was divided among the relatives shortly after death. Widows and widowers cut their hair and were subject to the same restrictions as among the Thompson. They washed and prayed and wore old clothes.

A noted Similkameen chief called *Skeū's* is buried near the "Standing Rock," mentioned on page 284. When dying, he told the people to bury him near the trail at this place, so that his children might see him as they passed to and fro.

XII. RELIGION

Concept of the World.—The ideas of the Okanagon tribes regarding the world, the creation, and all their religious beliefs agree very closely with those of the Thompson. The Okanagon claim that the earth was made by the "father mystery" or "great mystery"—a mysterious power with masculine attributes, who seems to be the same personage as the "Old One" or "Ancient One" of mythology. When he traveled on earth he assumed the form of a venerable-looking old man. Some people say that he was light skinned and had a long white beard. This deity was also called "Chief," "Chief Above," "Great Chief," and "Mystery Above." According to some, the power of the "Great Mystery" was everywhere and pervaded everything. Thus he was near and far and all around; but the main source of power came from above, and therefore it was believed that he lived in the upper world or in the sun. Others say that the "Great Mystery" or "Chief" was like a man, but that he had unlimited power, and lived in the heavens or on the highest mountains, or beyond the earth. He was the creator and arranger of the world. He had always been and always would be. All life sprang from him.

His influence was always good and unselfish. He was not a god that afflicted people. The world we live in was made by him for his pleasure and satisfaction, and to fill a gap in the great waters. It was like a woman. The "Great Mystery" fructified the earth in some way; and from this union sprang the first people and everything on earth that has life. He said that everything on earth should be subordinate to the people, and everything would be for their use, as they were his children; and all the people should have equal rights in everything, and would share alike. This is why all food was shared among the people, and no one thought of debarring any one else from access to anything required for life. Later some things in the world became detrimental to the welfare of the people, who therefore could neither increase nor progress. Thereupon the "Great Mystery" sent Coyote to teach the people certain arts, to introduce salmon, to make fishing places on the main river, to transform into rocks and into animals with minor powers certain powerful semihuman beings who preyed on the people. According to some, Coyote also established the seasons. He reduced the powers of the game and gave it its habitat so that people were able to obtain food.

Mythology.—The mythology of all the Okanagon tribes centers around Coyote, who is their great culture hero. Many Okanagon and Thompson mythological tales are almost identical.[1] Some mythological traditions are localized. Certain places are named from transformations related in myths. Thus there is a place called "Coyote's Penis" near Penticton; and a little farther to the south, near the head of Lac du Chien, is a mound called "Coyote's Underground Lodge." A pyramid of clay and stone near the Forks of Keremeous Creek is also called "Coyote's Penis."

Various Supernatural Beings.—Dwarfs, giants, and ghosts were believed in, as among the Thompson, and the same kinds of stories are related regarding them. There were also many "land and water mysteries." As among the Thompson, some of them were propitiated by offerings. If a stranger bathes or swims in a lake for the first time without propitiating it, the lake will resent it. If a good lake, it will merely show its displeasure by a squall. If a bad lake, it will bewitch the person, so that he will become sick or die.

Thunder is made by a bird; and the sun, moon, and stars are transformed mythical beings.

Prayers and Observances.—The prayers and observances of the Okanagon seem to have corresponded almost exactly to those of the Thompson. Beliefs regarding the mysterious powers inherent in animals, plants, and stones, also were the same. As among the Thompson, a "first-fruits" ceremony was observed in every band before the berries were to be picked. An offering of ripe berries on a bark tray was made by the chief of the band to the "Great Mystery" who dwelt above everywhere; therefore the tray was held out to the four points of the compass, beginning with the east. After the prayers the people danced, making signs with their hands as if drawing inspiration from above, and giving thanks to above, in very much the same way as they did in the religious dance. In some places an offering of the first roots was made in like manner, and a first tobacco ceremony was also in vogue.[1]

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[1] See Folk Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes, Memoirs Amer. Folk-lore Society, vol. 11, pp. 65-100; also Hill-Tout, Ethnology of the Okanaken, Anthrop. Institute, vol. 41, pp. 125, 141-161.

Prayers were offered and dances performed to bring rain or snow and warm winds, and also to cause storms, rain and snow to cease. In some cases these observances and dances were led by the chief and sometimes by shamans who had special powers.

When any sickness was upon the people, or if more deaths had occurred than usual, shamans were asked to "drive the sickness away" and to "clean up the earth."

Animals, especially large game, were treated with great respect, and spoken of deferentially. When a bear was killed a mourning song was sung, called the "bear song." Usually the hunter did not paint his face, as was the custom among the Thompson. Afterwards the bear's skull was elevated on the top of a long pole stuck in the ground either as a mark of respect or to keep off defiling influences. Bears and beavers could always hear what people said.

Game animals, the weather, the earth, the sweat-house spirit, and guardian spirits were prayed to by hunters when on hunting trips. If game were scarce or hard to get, a shaman, or a man who had the particular kind of game as his guardian, was asked to placate the animals. He sang his song and drew the animals near, or he told the people when and where to go hunting. Some men caused snow to fall and the weather to turn cold in order to assist hunting.

Adolescents prayed chiefly to the Day Dawn, and many warriors prayed principally to the sun. Prayers and offerings were made to deities or powers inhabiting certain localities.

The Nespelim chief told me that about 1770, when his grandmother was a very young girl, a shower of dry dust fell over the country. It covered the land to a depth of from 3 to 4 inches and was like a white dust. It is said that this shower of volcanic ash fell over a large area, including part of the Wallawalla country. The people were much alarmed at this phenomenon and were afraid it prognosticated evil. They beat drums and sang, and for a time held the "praying" dance almost day and night. They prayed to the "dry snow," called it "Chief" and "Mystery," and asked it to explain itself and tell why it came. The people danced a great deal all summer, and in large measure neglected their usual work. They put up only small stores of berries, roots, salmon, and dried meat; and consequently the following winter, which happened to be rather long and severe, they ran out of supplies. A few of the old people died of starvation and others became so weak that they could not hunt.

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[1] See Thompson, a, pp. 349, 350.

THE SOUL.—The Okanagon held the same beliefs regarding the soul as the Thompson. The dead go to a land believed by some to be in the west, beyond the great mountains where the sun sets. Others believed that the land of shades was away south beyond the mouths of the great rivers. The trail of the dead went underground in the darkness for a long distance, then it ascended, and emerged in the spirit world, which was beyond the earth and very light. People lived there, following almost the same pursuits as on earth, but they had an easier and much more pleasant time. According to some, no quarreling, ill feeling, sickness, or warfare existed there.

GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Guardian spirits were the same in character as among the Thompson, and acquired in the same way.

SHAMANS.—Shamans appear to have been like those of the Thompson, about the only difference being that when treating the sick as a rule they did not dance or use masks. They sang their "medicine" songs and laid on hands. Painting was also resorted to, advice received in dreams was followed, and names of people were sometimes changed. Witchcraft was practiced almost exclusively by shamans.

I heard of no real prophets, excepting a Thompson woman from Nicola, who traveled in Similkameen and Okanagon, telling the people about the spirit land, and also relating how the coming of whites would result in the destruction of the Indians. She prophesied the stealing of the Indian's lands and the destruction of the game by the whites, and stated that they would destroy the Indian while pretending to benefit him. She invited the Indians to join in a great war against the whites to drive them out. Even if the Indians were all killed in this war it would be better than being reduced to the conditions they would have to endure, once the whites became dominant. She also advised the Indians to retain their old customs and not to adopt any of the white man's ways, which were as poison to the Indians. She claimed to be arrow and bullet proof, like the greatest warriors who led in battle. She did not require to wield weapons herself; but if the Indians would follow her, they would be successful in arms against the whites. Being a woman, her war propaganda secured but little following. She sang war songs at her meetings. A year or two afterwards, about 1850, she died suddenly.

DANCES.—Probably the four chief dances among the Okanagon tribes were the war dance, the scalp dance, the guardian-spirit dance, and the religious dance. The last-mentioned was in every way like that of the Thompson. In each place it was under the direction of one or two chiefs. Prayers were offered to the "Chief Above" and food was distributed at the dances.

The war dance was preparatory to going to war, and sometimes parts of it were like a mimic battle. A dance with special war songs, in vogue among Indians farther south and east, was held by them before going on horse-stealing raids. It was also performed by the Okanagon tribes when individuals and small numbers of young men desired to go on an expedition for adventure, war, or plunder. Young men obtained war practice on these expeditions, and sought for a chance to distinguish themselves. The number of men in these parties varied from 1 to 10 or more.

The scalp dance consisted of a procession and singing, followed by a dance similar to the war dance. At intervals the warriors recounted their exploits. The scalps were given to women, who carried them on the ends of spears and poles in the procession; and women took the most prominent part in the dancing, some of them being dressed like warriors. A feast often followed the scalp dance.

As among the Thompson, the women of the Okanagon, of Okanagon Lake and River, and possibly the tribes farther south, danced while the men were on the warpath.

In the guardian-spirit dance each person sang the song he had received during his puberty training, showed his powers, and imitated his guardian spirit by cry and gesture while dancing.

The "touching" or marriage dance for young people was often held in conjunction with the "praying" dance. It seems to have been the same as among the Thompson.

A sun dance was performed at the solstices, the greatest one being held about midwinter. Among the Okanagon division the women, during the absence of a war party, performed the same dance as that used on such occasions by the Thompson.

The dances called *stlei* by the Thompson were performed at festivals and danced by both sexes. Each person danced by himself and often remained almost stationary. Most of the dance movements were made by the swaying of the body and movements of the hands.

XIII. MEDICINES AND CURRENT BELIEFS

MEDICINES.—I heard of the use of the following plants (other than food plants) for medicinal and other purposes:

Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.), a decoction used as a medicine for sore eyes and for other purposes, as among the Thompson.

Lupin (*Lupinus polyphyllus?*), a decoction used as a kind of tonic.

Wild geranium (*Geranium incisum* Nutt.), used for sore lips. A leaf is held between the lips for several hours. It is said to cure in one day.

Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*), a decoction drunk for consumption. The use of the plant is modern.

Pentstemon douglasii, a decoction used as a medicine.

Mint (*Mentha borealis*), decoction used as a medicine.

Rock cress (*Arabis drummondii* Gray), decoction drunk for cure of gonorrhea.

Quaking asp (*Populus tremuloides* Michx.), decoction of rootlets and stems drunk for syphilis.

Shepherdia canadensis Nutt., decoction of twigs drunk as a tonic for the stomach and a mild physic.

Hellebore (*Veratrum viride*), known as a poison. The root is dried and powdered and used as a snuff for colds. It produces sneezing. The use of this plant is limited and may be modern.

Aconitum delphinifolium, used as a medicine, and the flowers used as a paint.

Philadelphus lewisii; Okanagon name *wa'x̣awax̣xlp;* Thompson name, *wŭ'x̣aselp;* leaves used as a soap for washing.

Gilia aggregata; Okanagon name, *x̣ax̣alauhŭ'ps;* decoction used as an eye wash, also as a head and face wash by adolescent girls to improve the skin and hair, in the same way as *Linum perenne* among the Thompson. *Gilia aggregata* is plentiful in Similkameen but does not grow in the Thompson country proper. It is called "red raven's foot scales" by the Thompson.

Nicotiana attenuata Torr., used as a head wash and for dandruff, as among the Thompson; also used for smoking.

Sagebrush (*Artemisia tridentata* Nutt.; Okanagon name, *kolkolxmanŭ'l;* Thompson name, *kŭ'uku*), used as a medicine for colds.

Labrador tea (*Ledum groenlandicum;* Okanagon name, *xollemilp;* Thompson name, *ka'tca*), decoction drunk as a tonic.

Juniper (*Juniperus virginiana* L.), used for fumigation.

Wolf moss (*Evernia vulpina;* Okanagon name, *kwarŭ'uk;* Thompson name, *kolomŭ'ka,* also *kwalŭ'uk*), used as a medicine as well as a dye and paint.

Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), used as a medicine as well as a plant furnishing fiber.

Dogbane (*Apocynum androsaemifolium*), used as a medicine as well as a plant furnishing fiber.

The Okanagon used a great many plants for medicinal and other purposes, but I had no time to make a collection or to inquire into the subject fully.

CURRENT BELIEFS.—Some of the current beliefs of the Okanagon and Sanpoil are the same as those of the Thompson. Sneezing signifies that a person, probably a woman, is talking of you or mentioning your name.[1] The same belief is held regarding black lizards following persons as among the Thompson. Michel Revais said that this belief was current among the tribes in the interior of Oregon, but not among the Salish east of Columbia River; i. e., the Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, and Colville.

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[1] See Thompson (a) p. 373.

THE FLATHEAD GROUP

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

Tribes of the Group.—The Flathead group consists of four tribes, and there were two others which are now extinct.

1. Flathead (or Têtes plattes).
2. Pend d'Oreilles.
3. Kalispel.
4. Spokan.
5. Sᴇmtē'use } Extinct.
6. Tună'xe } Extinct.

Origin of Tribal Names.—The Flathead were also called Salish, Selish, Salees, etc., which terms are derived from their own name. The origin of the name "Flathead" ("Tête platte") is obscure. Some men of the tribe claim that the term was adopted by the early traders from the sign language, the sign for the tribe being often interpreted "pressed side of head" or "pressed head," hence "flat head." The Upper Kutenai claim that the tribe was named "Flathead" because there once was a people who lived in the Salish country who had "flat" or pressed heads. They say that long ago there were two tribes or people inhabiting the Flathead country. One of these was called "Leg people," and the other "Flat-Head (or Wide-Head) people." The former were the ancestors of the Flathead tribe of to-day. They did not press their heads. The other tribe had heads which looked wide, and it was said that they pressed their heads. The exact location of the two tribes is not known; but it is thought that the Leg people lived farthest east and south, and the Wide-Head people about where the Flathead tribes now live—around Jocko and Bitterroot Valley, west of the main range of the Rocky Mountains. It seems that the Leg people were originally entirely or partly east of the range. In later times the two tribes lived together. The Wide-Head tribe was smaller than the Leg tribe. Finally the former disappeared. Possibly they ceased pressing their heads so that they could no longer be distinguished, or they may have been absorbed by the Leg people. At all events, it seems that none but the Leg people remained in the country where the Wide Head had been, but their name has persisted. Distant Plains tribes had been in the habit of calling all the people of the region "Flat Head" or "Wide Head" in a general way, because of the characteristics of the one tribe, and the name was adopted by the fur traders. The Wide Head tribe were not slaves of the Leg people (or Salish proper).

In the Handbook of American Indians[1] the statement is made that the Flathead tribe received its name from the surrounding people, not because they artificially deformed their heads, but because, in contradistinction to most tribes farther west, they left them in their natural condition, flat on top. The Flathead were sometimes called "Flathead proper," in contradistinction to the Pend d'Oreilles (who were sometimes called "Lake Flathead" because many of them formerly had their headquarters around Flathead Lake) and the Kalispel (who were sometimes known as "River Flathead" because they lived on the river below). The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "Earring people," "Ear-Drops," and "Hanging Ears." The name was given to them by the early traders because when first met they nearly all wore large shell earrings. The shells were obtained in Flathead Lake and Pend d'Oreille River, and formed an article of export. The tribe was also known as "Upper Pend d'Oreilles" in contradistinction to the Kalispel, who were sometimes called "Lower Pend d'Oreilles." "Kalispel" is derived from the Indian name of the tribe, which has originated from a place name. The Kalispel were sometimes called "Camas people." "Spokan" is derived from an Indian term for the tribe as a whole, which became general in later days. The Spokan were also sometimes called "Sun people," possibly from a mistranslation of the name "Spokan." Many Indians deny that it has this meaning.

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[1] Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under Salish, p. 415; see also ibid., pt. 1, p. 465, under Flathead.

NAMES FOR THEMSELVES.—The Flathead group as a whole is called "*Sɛl'lictcɛn*" by the Kalispel and probably the other tribes of the group. This is the same term as "*Nɛl'lixtcɛn*," used by the Okanagon group for themselves, and means "Salish-speaking." Their own tribal names are—

1. *Sɛ̈lic* or *Se'lic* (meaning uncertain;[3] the suffix *-ic* may mean "people").	The Flathead.
2. *Sɪlqetkomstci'(nt)* ("people of *Sʟqe'tko*, "wide water or lake," the name of Flathead Lake). *Stɛkɛ̄'listci'(nt)* ("upper people" or "people above or at the top;" with reference to their position at the head of Pend d'Oreille River or above the Kalispel. This term seems to be chiefly used by the Kalispel).	The Pend d'Oreilles.
3. *Ka'lispe'l* or *Skalispɛ̈'* (said to mean "camas"). A Pend d'Oreilles informant said *Kalispɛ̈'lɛm* was the name for young sprouting camas, and it was also the name of the large camas digging ground near Calispel Lake, Washington, which seems to have been the main seat of the Lower Kalispel.	The Kalispel.

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[3] The Handbook of American Indians (pt. 2, p. 415) gives "Salish" as derived from *sälst* ("people"). If, however, the suffix *-ic* means "people," as seems probable, the term would mean "people people," which makes the derivation unlikely.

4. *Spōqē'in(ic)* (meaning uncertain, but considered to be derived from a place-name).[3] The Spokan appear to have had no name for themselves as a whole, the present tribal name of *Spōqē'n* being probably less than a hundred years old. It appears to have originated with the Coeur d'Alêne or some other neighboring Salish tribe, at first as a name for a band that occupied an important fishing place. I was unable to determine the exact band and place. Some Indians say that this band lived on the Little Spokane, while others think *Spōqē'in* was originally the name of a band and place near Spokane Falls. The suffix *-qein* has reference to "head." Before the tribal name of "Spokan" came into use it seems that the tribe was known by what are considered now as divisional names only (cf. p. 298).	The Spokan.
5. *Sᴇmtē'use* (meaning uncertain; some Indians declare that the name means "foolish" with reference to the characteristics of the people, while others think the name may be derived from an old place-name).	The *Sᴇmtē'use*.
6. *Tuna'xē* (also called "Sun River people") (meaning uncertain; some people think that the name may be from a characteristic of the people because they were great traders, while others think it is merely that of their country or place).[4]	The *Tuna'xe*.

Names by which Known to Other Tribes; Names Given to Them by Salish Tribes.—All the interior Salish tribes call the Flathead *Sa'lix* or *Sa'lic*. Variations of the name are *Sā'lix, Sa'lis, Sa'lᴇx, Sē'lix, Se'lic,* and *Sī'lix*. The Coeur d'Alêne often call them *Se'dlᴇmic*, and the Columbia and Wenatchi frequently call them *Sa'lᴇmux*, which are variations of the same name.[5] The name may possibly be derived from some old place name.[6] The Pend d'Oreilles were called *Stlkatkomstcī'nt* by the Coeur d'Alêne and most other Salish tribes. Variations of the name are *Sʟqa'tkomstci'nt, Sʟqatkomstci'nt,* and *Stlqatkomskī'nt*. Some tribes more generally called them *Sniā'lᴇmᴇn or Snia'lᴇmᴇnic* or *Snia'lᴇmᴇnᴇx*, "people of *Snia'lᴇmᴇn*," the name of a place at the Mission where a leading band had their village. In later times this place was the main winter quarters of the tribe.

The Kalispel are called *Skalispē'lᴇm* or *Skalispē'l* by all the other Salish tribes. Variations of these terms are *Kalspi'lᴇm, Kalispa'lᴇm, Skalᴇspi'lᴇx*. The name is derived from *Kalispē'lᴇm*, the name of a great camas-digging place at Calispel Lake, Washington. Some, however, think the term implies "camas people"; while, on the other hand, some Okanagon, Thompson, and others translate it as "flat-country people."

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[3] Compare p. 296.

[4] Possibly this is the Kutenai name for Kutenai: Ktuna'xa, which may mean "those going out of the mountains." (F. Boas.) The Salish pronunciation of this name is *Tuna'xe* while the Kutenai pronounced Tuna'xa. See also the Salish name for the Assiniboin, p. 302, and note to same.

[5] The suffixes -ix, -ic, -is, -ᴇx, -ᴇc, -ex, -l, -e, -ᴇmx, -ᴇmᴇx, -ᴇmic -ᴇmux, -ux, mean "people"; -alt'at, -tcint, -tci means "mouth, language."

[6] Some think that the name may be derived from an old name of their country, or a district in their country, named because situated on the upper Missouri, close to the place where the river emerges from the mountains.

The Spokan or *Spōqē'inic* are called *Spokei'.nᴇmᴇ* or *Spōqē'ᴇnᴇmc* by the Coeur d'Alêne, *Spōkei'mux* by the Columbia, *Spoqai'nᴇx̣* by the Sanpoil, *Spōqe'inᴇx̣* and *Spōkē'n* by the Lake and most other Salish tribes, all of which terms mean "*Spōkē'n* or *Spōqē'in* people." As stated already, some people translate the name as meaning "Sun people." They were also, as a whole, sometimes called *Sᴇnoxamī'naᴇx* by tribes of the Okanagon group, the name of their principal division. It seems that at one time the tribe had no general name of their own, and they were usually called by the names of what later came to be considered divisions of the tribe. These divisions were looked upon as independent groups or tribes by some. Other Indians considered them merely divisions, saying that they were parts of a single people who had their villages at different places. The names of these divisions of tribes were—

1. *Stsēkastsi'*, *Stkastsī'lᴇn*, or *Stkāstsī'lᴇnic* (=the Lower Spokan). The name is derived from a place called *Stkastsī'lᴇn*, near the mouth of Spokane River. Some translate the name as "running fast," probably with reference to the river. Another, less-accepted translation of the name is "bad food,"[7] "bad eaters," or "poor feeders" (according to some, with reference to the people; according to others, derived from a place-name).

2. *Sntutuū'li* or *Sntutu'ū'*. (=the South or Middle Spokan). This name is translated "living together" by some, and "pounding" or "pounders" (of meat or fish) by others. Most people think the term is derived from a place name derived from the sound of pounding.

3. *Snx̣o'mē'*, *Sᴇnx̣omē'*, *Sᴇnx̣omē'nic* (=the Upper or Little Spokan). This name is almost invariably translated as "salmon-trout" or "salmon-trout people" (from *x̣ome'na*, "salmon-trout" or "steelhead," a fish said to have been very plentiful in the country of the tribe, and hence the tribal name). Some think the term may originally have been the name of a locality in their country where these fish were abundant. Another translation of the name is "using red paint,"[8] but this is probably incorrect.

NAMES GIVEN TO THEM BY NON-SALISH TRIBES.—Following is a list of names given by alien tribes to the Flathead group. The names followed by an asterisk are from the Handbook of American Indians.

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[7] Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the Okanagon name for the Lower Spokan, *[illegible]*, is translated "people with bad heads."

[8] Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the name *Sin-hu* is translated "people wearing red paint on their cheeks."

	Flathead	Pend d'Oreilles	Kalispel	Spokan
	A'ḱinuqlā'lām[1] ("Flatheaded".)	Meqkwō'qᴇnᴇk ("Red willow people").	a·ḱinamitā'ḱᴇwa (' river people')	Sᴇnχoma'n.[2] Sᴇntutā.'[3]
Upper Kutenai	Akkokᴇne'ḱᴇa, kōkᴇnūk·e "Leg or leggy [4] people").	a·ḱinuqlālām*[5]	a·ḱinuqlālām*[5] ("compress side of head.")	
Nez Percés		sanie'lᴇmᴇn[4] tc'lōkᴇn.	kamā'spalo ("camas people").	
Yakima, Paloos, and Klickitat.		ku'shpēlu*, pepah-pūn'lēma* ("people of the great fir-trees").[6]	ku'shpēlu*, pepah-pūn'lēma* ("people of the great fir-trees").	Cpōkā'n.[7] Cpoka'n.
Wasco				Łtcīᴇ'cuks.[8] Spukā'n.[7]
Klamath and Modoc				
Shoshoni				
Blackfoot	Koh-to'h-epi-tu'p-i-o*		ni-he-ta-ts-tu'p-i-o*	
Gros Ventres	Kaakaāānin[10] ("Flathead man").			
Arapaho	Ka-ta-i-thi,* ("Flathead people").			
Cheyenne	Ka-ko'-is-tsi-a-ta-ni-o* ("people who flatten their heads").			
Chippewa	Nebagindibe* ("flathead")			
Crow	Asuha'pe, Āeuhāpe (said to mean "Flatheads").	ak-mi'n-e-shu'-me*, ak-min-e-shu-me* ("the tribe that uses canoes").		
Hidatsa	ā-too-hā-pe*			
Yankton	pands-ska*, pao-bic'-ca* ("head cornered or edged").			

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[1] The Handbook of American Indians gives a form of this name as a Kutenai term for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles.

[2] From the Salish name for the Little Spokan.

[3] From the Salish name for the Middle Spokan.

[4] Probably c'ku'q/nuk, lake.—F. B.

[5] The same as the Kutenai name for Flathead.

[6] From the name of a headquarters of the Pend d'Oreilles (see pp. 297, 312).

[7] From Salish tongues.

[8] Compare Nez Percé name for the Columbia.

[9] A tribe east of the Columbia, above the Wallawalla, possibly the Spokan.

[10] See Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventres, Anthrop. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. I, p. 147.

In the sign language the Flathead were called "flat head" or "pressed side of the head." The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were called "Paddlers" because they used bark canoes extensively, while the Spokan are said to have had very few canoes; and the Flathead, *Sᴇmtē'use*, and *Tunā'xe* had no canoes. The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were differentiated by making the additional signs of "above" or "lake" for the former, and "below" or "river" for the latter; i. e. "lake paddlers" and "river paddlers," etc. The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "real paddlers" or simply "paddlers;" and the Kalispel, "camas-eaters," "camas people," or "camas-diggers." It seems that the last terms were applied to them almost exclusively by the Nez Percé and some other Shahaptian tribes. The Spokan were called "salmon-eaters" because they were the only tribe of the Flathead group who had salmon in their country, and naturally therefore, salmon was consumed a great deal by them.

NAMES GIVEN BY THEM TO OTHER TRIBES.—Following are names given to other tribes by the Flathead:

SALISH TRIBES

Lower Fraser tribe	*Tχmsiū'*, *Lamsiū'* (meaning uncertain).
Lillooet	*Snχχlamī'ne* ("ax people").
Shuswap	*Sihwē'pe*, *Sihwe'pi* (meaning uncertain, thought to mean "people at the root or bottom," supposed with reference to a low valley).
Thompson or Couteau	*Nukstχme'xʷ*, *Nko'tχme'xʷ*, *Nkstχmī'*, *Lū'kstχme'* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country; some think it may mean "other-side country" or "people of the other slope").
Similkameen	*Sχmilkamī'* (from the name of their country).
Okanagon	*Otcχnākē'*, *Otcχnāqai'n*, *Otcχnākai'n* (from the name of a place on Okanagon River).
Sanpoil	*Npot'lce*, *Snpŏī'lχχχc* (meaning uncertain, said to be from the name of a place or district).
Colville or Chaudiere	*Sχōχēlpi*, *Sχoiē'lpi* (said to be derived from *sχoiē'*, "stone grainer for dressing hides").
Lake or Sinijextee	*Snai'tcχtstc* or *Snrai'tcχtstc* ("lake-trout people").
Wenatchi	*Snpəskwā'use*, or *Snpχskwē'usi* (from the name of a place).
Columbia	*Snkaiā'use*, *Snkaiē'use*[9] (related to the term "Cayuse").
Co[illegible] d'Alêne	*Stci'tsui* (meaning uncertain).

WESTERN PLATEAU TRIBES

In general	*Sutomktcke'lix*[10] ("down-country people," thought to be from the name of a place in their country).

OTHER PLATEAU TRIBES

Upper Kutenai	*Skə'lei'*, *Skalse'* (from *Skalse'ulkʷ*, Kootenai River).[11] *Qoga'ten* by the *Tunā'χe*.
Lower Kutenai or Flatbow	*Selkola'*, *Sχlkwōla'*. (meaning uncertain).
Nez Percé	*Sēha'pten*, *Suhā'ptcne* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country).

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[9] Compare the terms for Umatilla and Cayuse.

[10] A general name for the tribes west of the Bitterroot Range, and particularly the Salishan and Shahaptian tribes of the Columbia drainage. The tribes of the Okanagon and Columbia groups, the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other Shahaptian tribes, were particularly *Sutomktcke'lix*.

[11] The name of the river seems to be derived from *skeil* ("above, up country or to the north") and *se'ulkʷ* ("water or river"). See also Okanagon, p. 222, note 6.

Wallawalla	*Sulawa'*, *Suwalwa'le* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of a place).
Umatilla	*Kii'us,*[12] *Nkaii'use, Ohēma*[13] (meaning uncertain).
Paloos	*Stɛkamici'ni, Stĭqamici'ne* ("people of the confluence" with reference to the mouth of the Snake).
Yakima	*Iā'qima, Ia'kɛme* (meaning uncertain).
Cayuse	*Kaii'us*[14] (meaning uncertain, thought by some to be from the name of a place or district).
Wasco	*Waisqo'ps* (thought to be from the name of a place).
Wasco and Dalles tribes	*Sɛnkaltu'* ("above the falls").
Bannock[a]	*Āxwe'xisa, Sĭxwai'tsa, ox̣hai'tsa, panak*[15] (said to mean "bark covering" or "bark lodges" because the tribe formerly used lodges of bark or of bark and grass; some translate the name "striped robes," and others "striped covering," either covering of lodges or covering of the body [robes, for instance]; some Coeur d'Alêne claim that "Bark Lodges" is the old name of the tribe, and "Striped Robes" a later name[16]).
Tribe unidentified, said to be similar to the Bannock; others say a tribe formerly living east of and near the Rocky Mountains.	*pi'liakɛn* (meaning uncertain, supposed to have some connection with "head").
Shoshoni or Snake (in general)	*Snō'wa, Snō'we'* ("snake").
Lemhi Shoshoni (a general name)	*Tcɛtx̣woi'stɛn Snō'we* (said to mean "mountain snake").
Shoshoni east and south of Lemhi[17]	*One'xʷ sno'we* ("real snake").[b]
General name for tribes to the south of the Flathead group, particularly the Shoshonean tribes of the Rocky Mountains, and east of the Rockies, and others beyond to the south, in contradistinction to the tribes of the Columbia drainage or west of the Bitterroots ("down-country people") and the eastern or Plains tribes ("cutthroat" or "sunrise" people).	*Tax̣ɛntokain s Tke'lix* ("noon people" or "south people").

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[12] Compare Columbia and Cayuse.

[13] Compare the Coeur d'Alêne name for the Nez Percé.

[14] Compare names for Umatilla and Columbia.

[a] Called by the Columbia *opaf'tsa*.

[15] Probably a modern name.

[16] In the sign language it seems that they were called by both names.

[b] The Columbia call the Shoshoni of the Mountains *Snak'aibaq*; those east of the mountains *Sni'a*.

[17] The Ute and several Shoshonean tribes to the south and east are said to have had special names. Nowadays at least the Ute are often called Yū'ta, and the Comanche Kaui'nid.

EASTERN OR PLAINS TRIBES

General name for eastern tribes or all tribes east of the Salish, Shoshoni, and Blackfoot.	*Tcxle'tstin s'ke'.lix* ("sunrise people" or "eastern people") *Noxtu'*. ("beheaders" or "cutthroats").
Sarsi	*Sarsi'*. This tribe is said to have been unknown long ago, and the name for them was adopted from the Blackfoot or the white traders.
Blackfoot (proper)	*Sicxqwē'*, *Sicxkwē'*. ("black feet").[18]
Blood	*Sxmhwulstci'nt*, *Snxwulstci'nt* ("blood people").
Piegan	*Tsxisxmi'tsa*[a] ("small robes").
Gros Ventres or Atsina	*Snkaioskestci'nt* (said to mean something like saying "two" or "two [pole] people," probably with reference to tent-poles).[19]
Arapaho	*Lapaho'*, *Ala'pho* (a corruption of Arapaho).
Cheyenne	*Wxtckaiu'*, *xtckai'u'*, *Tskakai'u'*, *Tcxqkai 'u'*, *Tsē'kskai'u*, *Tskwai'u'* (said to mean "blue [or black] arrows" or "blue arrow people," so named because the feathers of their arrows were striped blue and white, or black and white; according to others because their arrows were painted blue and white).[20]
Cree	*Noxtu'* ("cutthroat" or "beheader"),[21] *Lekrē'* (from the word "Cree" by way of the French).
Sioux	*Noxtu'* ("cutthroat," "beheader").[22]
Assiniboin	*Stkotunuxtu'*[23] (said to mean "go on foot" or "people who go on foot or walk," because they had no horses at a time when all the tribes to the south and west of them were mounted).
Crow	*Stē'mici'(nt)* ("raven people").
River Crow	*Skwais'ici'*, *Skwoistci'nt* ("blue [or green] people").[24]
Ojibway	*Ntcu'wa'*, *Ntcu'a'*.
Iroquois	*yilikwe'* (a corruption of the word "Iroquois").

The Omaha and some other eastern tribes known in later times had names, but my informants had forgotten them. They were not sure of the name for the Kiowa.

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[18] Some people think that these people were so named because they used black or dark-colored moccasins. People of the Thompson and several tribes sometimes blackened their moccasins in cold weather.

[a] Called by the Columbia Skoxa'lex.

[19] In the sign language they were called "tent poles" and "big belly."

[20] In the sign language they were generally designated "arrows striped across," sometimes they were called "cutthroat of the south."

[21] In the sign language sometimes called "cutthroat of the north." A Coeur d'Alêne sign language name for them is "striped noses" or "scratched noses."

[22] In the sign language often called "real cutthroat" or "cutthroat of the east."

[23] Compare form and meaning of this word with *[illegible]* or *[illegible]*, which I think means "people who walk down a valley." However, there may be no connection.

[24] In the sign language called "people who delineate by the riverside."

Dialects.—The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel speak the same dialect. A branch of the latter living in the Chewelah district are said to have spoken slightly differently. The difference was owing partly to contact with Colville and Spokan. The Flathead spoke a dialect slightly different from that of the Pend d'Oreilles. The difference is very slight at the present day, but was more pronounced formerly. The *Sχmtē'use* are said to have spoken like the Pend d'Oreilles, but with a difference in intonation and slight differences in the meaning and pronunciation of certain words. Their utterance is said to have been slower than that of the other tribes. The Spokan divisions are said to have spoken all alike, and their speech varied most from the Flathead. However, all these tribes had little or no difficulty in understanding one another, except the *Tuna'χe* (Salish-*Tuna'χe*). The speech of this tribe is said to have been Salish, but as much removed from the Flathead as the Coeur d'Alêne, or more so.[3a]

Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, it is said, could only partially understand them. Many of them, however, could speak Flathead, especially those living farthest south; while those living farthest north, next the Kutenai-*Tuna'χe*, were practically bilingual, speaking both their own language and Kutenai about equally well. It is said that many Salish-*Tuna'χe* also spoke Blackfoot and Shoshoni as well as Flathead and Kutenai.

Habitat and Boundaries.[4] *Flathead Tribe.*—It seems that two Salish tribes lived entirely east of the Continental Divide; the Flathead and the Salish-*Tuna'χe*. According to Flathead and Pend d'Oreille informants, long ago the Flathead tribe lived wholly east of the Rocky Mountains, where they occupied a large tract of country. They were in several large detached bands, who made their headquarters in certain places in the western part of their country, near the mountains, where conditions were best for wintering. Occasionally parties went west of the divide, into what are now the counties of Ravalli and Granite in Montana, but they never crossed the Bitterroot Range. Parties also went a considerable distance east in the summertime, some of them ranging around Bozeman and farther to the north. According to some informants, the former boundaries of the Flathead tribe were the Rocky Mountains on the west and south, and the Gallatin, Crazy Mountain, and Little Belt Ranges on the east. Their approximate northern boundary seems to have cut across the Big Belt Range near its center, following some hilly country north of Helena, between the Rocky Mountains and Little Belt Mountains. The territory claimed by the tribe included practically all of the present counties of Deerlodge, Silver Bow, Beaverhead, Madison, Gallatin, Jefferson, and Broadwater, and parts of Park, Meagher, and Lewis and Clark. This is the country said to have been occupied by the tribe about 1600 (?), when they obtained the first horses. The extreme eastern and southern parts of the territory may have been to some extent neutral ground, and the district east of the Big Belt and Bridger Ranges was possibly not very fully utilized before the introduction of the horse. About the time of the introduction of the horse the Flathead had for neighbors the Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtē'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'χe* on the northwest and north, and Shoshonean tribes all around them on the southwest, south, and east. About this time the Crow, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and Cheyenne were unknown, for they were not in contact with Salish tribes, and originally they lived far to the east. The Sarsi, Cree, and Assiniboin were also unknown. The only tribes on the Western Plains at this time, other than Salish, were Shoshoni, Kutenai,[26] and Blackfoot, all of which were well known. The Blackfoot people were then in three (some say four) divisions, as they are now,[27] all speaking the same language. There were two groups of Shoshoni—those who lived in and west of the Rockies and those who lived east of the Rockies, on the plains. Both of these divisions consisted of several tribes, some of them speaking dialects considerably different from others. Most of them, however, spoke the "real Snake" language. Various Shoshonean bands or tribes occupied the Lemhi country, and the whole area south of the Nez Percé. These western or mountain Shoshoni subsisted to a considerable extent on salmon, like the Nez Percé, Spokan, and western Salish tribes. East of the Rockies, Shoshonean tribes occupied the Upper Yellowstone country, including the National Park, and they are said to have extended east to the Big Horn Mountains or beyond. To the south, both east and west of the Rockies, the Flathead knew of no tribes that were not branches of the "Snake." Most of these people depended chiefly on hunting buffalo, elk, and mountain sheep. Farther north Shoshonean bands occupied the country around Livingston, Lewiston, and Denton. How far east and down the Yellowstone they extended is not known; but they are thought to have at one time held the country around Billings, and most, if not all, of the country where the Crow Indians now have a reservation. Some think they even stretched east almost to the present Northern Cheyenne Reserve. None of the former Shoshoni boundaries were properly known to the Flathead, however, except where they were their own neighbors or those of the *Tuná'xe.* A large Shoshoni band lived at one time near Fort Benton and another one is said to have lived still farther north. The Sweet Grass Hills, near the Canadian line, were considered to be the former northwestern boundary of the Shoshoni. These hills were also the boundary of the Kutenai, and possibly also of the Blackfoot.[28] Northeastward Shoshoni are thought to have occupied the country to near Fort Assiniboin or Havre. How far they extended down the Missouri is unknown, but they are said to have occupied the region to a considerable distance down on the south side. Although tribes or people were known to live east of the Shoshoni, it seems that long ago there was little contact between them.[29] At this period the western or mountain Shoshoni seldom crossed the Rockies, with the exception of small parties, bent on trading and visiting the Shoshoni in the Yellowstone country, and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne never crossed the Rockies, and seldom the Bitterroot Range. However, small parties visited the southern Pend d'Oreilles, where they were occasionally met by Flathead, who also visited there. Parties of Flathead also visited the mountain Snake, especially the Lemhi, and they also visited Shoshoni bands on the Yellowstone.

[3a] According to the Flathead, the last person known to have spoken *Tuna'χe* died in 1870. This was a man of Salish-*Tuna'χe* descent, who lived among the Kutenai in the Flathead Agency. Mr. Myers, who carried on linguistic work with Mr. E. S. Curtis, told me in 1910 that when in Montana he collected about 10 words (all remembered of the *Tuna'χe* language) from an old Kutenai woman, and that these words show distinct relationship to the Salish language. See also list of *Tuna'χe* words (given in vocabularies) preserved in Flathead and Pend d'Oreille personal names. All these appear to be Salish. Also see list of *Tuna'χe* (Kutenai-*Tuna'χe*) words collected by me at Tobacco Plains, British Columbia. All these appear to be related to Kutenai. The first are with little doubt Salish-*Tuna'χe* words, and the latter Kutenai *Tuna'χe*.

[4] See footnote 29 on p. 295. Compare map in Forty-first Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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[26] Kutenai-Tuna'χe.

[27] Blackfoot proper, Blood, and Piegan.

After the mountain Shoshoni had obtained horses they began to go east of the Rockies regularly in large numbers for buffalo hunting, sometimes joining forces with other Shoshonean bands who lived east of the range and sometimes hunting by themselves. Many of these parties skirted the mountains on the western side and then crossed into the Yellowstone Park, whence they went east or north. Others crossed the Rockies by passes farther north, and skirting the eastern foothills to the Gallatin Range went north on both sides of it to Livingston and beyond. Some of them went to the Musselshell River, and occasionally as far as Lewiston and Fort Benton; but it seems they did not cross the Missouri. This whole territory belonged to Shoshonean tribes. The Bannock also began to cross the mountains, and some parties occasionally wintered on the east side. Many of them crossed to the north and passed east through the southern and eastern borders of the Flathead country by the Gallatin River and Bozeman. In later days some of them went by Beaver Head River and Dillon. The Bannock generally hunted by themselves, and usually did not go as far east and north as some of the mountain Shoshoni. At a later date the Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne also began to hunt buffaloes east of the Rockies. The Coeur d'Alêne probably started at an earlier date than the Nez Percé. Both tribes passed through Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead territories, and went first at the invitation of the Flathead. Before the days of horses the tribes did not hunt so far away from home. They seldom hunted beyond the borders of their respective territories, except in the case of small parties engaged in intertribal visits. In those days peace generally prevailed among the various tribes and there was no continual warfare like that which developed after the introduction of the horse and the migrations of eastern tribes westward and of Blackfoot tribes southward.

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[28] Some say at a later date the Gros Ventres also reached there.

[29] The disposition of tribes as above stated appears to agree with information obtained from the Blackfoot. (c, p. 17). Wissler says, "The Piegan claim that before the white man dominated their country [an uncertain date, probably 1730-1840] the Blackfoot, Blood and Piegan lived north of Macleod; the Kutenai in the vicinity of the present Blood Reserve; the Gros Ventres and the Assiniboin to the east of the Kootenai; the Snake on the Teton River, and as far north as Two Medicine River; and the *Flathead* on the Sun River."

The Tună'χe (*or Salish-Tună'χe*).—The country of the *Tună'χe* was also altogether east of the Continental Divide and immediately north of the Flathead. They extended westward to the Rocky Mountains. Their southern limits are rather vague and there may have been no very clear dividing line between them and the nearest bands of Flathead. The dividing line seems to have been somewhere between Marysville and Helena. Their eastern boundary seems to have been along the Big Belt Range, north to Great Falls. Beyond this point it swerved northwestward, apparently excluding the Teton River, or at least its lower part, to a point somewhere near Conrad, whence it struck westerly to the Rockies. It did not extend as far north as the present Blackfoot and Piegan Reservation in Montana. Their territory embraced parts of what are now the counties of Teton, Lewis and Clark, and Cascade. Immediately north of the *Tună'χe* lived the Kutenai, according to the Flathead, or the tribe called *Tonă'χa* or *Kutonă'χa* by the Upper Kutenai. The *Tună'χe* of the Flathead were considered Salish by the Kutenai, who often called them "Sun River people" or simply referred to them as "Flathead." The Blackfoot also considered them Salish.[30] It seems strange that the Flathead should call a Salish tribe by the same name as the Kutenai give to a Kutenai tribe, and there may possibly be some confusion among Flathead informants respecting the tribal names.

The Upper Kutenai say there were three tribes of Kutenai people, each speaking slightly different dialects of the Kutenai language—(1) the Lower Kutenai, on Kootenai Lake, and the Kootenai River above the lake; (2) the Upper Kutenai on Upper Kootenai River, north to the head of the Columbia, and extending into the Rockies; (3) the *Kutona'χa, Tonă'χa,* or *Tuna'χa,* east of the Rocky Mountains. The last-named at one time occupied a considerable territory in what are now Alberta and Montana, extending east to the Sweet Grass Hills, and including at least the greater portion of the present

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[30] See note 23. The names *Tuna'χe* and *Tuna'χa* are undoubtedly forms of the name by which the Kutenai designate themselves *Ktuna'χa*. The derivation may be k- participle; *tun-* (Lower Kutenai) out of the woods; *aq*(?) to go. According to the present form of the language "those who go out of the woods" would be *Ktuna'χam*.—F. Boas.

Blood Reserve in Alberta and all of the Blackfoot Reservation in Montana. Northward Kutenai territory extended on the east side of the Rockies to a distance about equal to the northern limits of the former hunting grounds of the Upper Kutenai, west of the range or possibly even a little farther north; but it is not clear whether this northeastern strip of country belonged to the Upper Kutenai or to the Kutenai-*Tunā'χa*. Presumably it belonged to the former. It included the country around Banff and probably all the present reservation of the Stony or Assiniboin Indians on the Bow River.[31] On the south their boundaries coincided with the northern limits of the Sun River Salish (the tribe called *Tunā'χe* by my principal Flathead informant). This eastern or Plains Kutenai tribe was composed of several bands, most of whom made their headquarters in the eastern foothills of the Rockies, on both sides of the international boundary; but a large band lived at one time on the present Blood Reservation. The main seat of the tribe was near the place now called Browning, in Montana. To prevent confusion I have named this tribe Kutenai-*Tunā'χe*, and the *Tunā'χe* of Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles informants, Salish-*Tunā'χe*. The latter had for neighbors Kutenai-*Tunā'χe* on the north, the *Sɛmtē'use* on the west, Flathead on the south, and Shoshoni neighbors on the east. It seems that the Kutenai-*Tunā'χe* had Shoshoni on part of their boundary to the southeast, Blackfoot (probably Piegan) on the east and north, Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles on the west, and Salish-*Tunā'χe* on the south. It is claimed that at this time there were no Sarsi or Assiniboin in that part of the country.[32]

The Sɛmtē'use or Sɛmtā'use.—The territory of the *Sɛmtē'use* lay immediately west of the Rocky Mountains, in what is now Powell County, and in parts of Lewis and Clark, Missoula, and Granite Counties. Their southern boundary seems to have run in a line from Garrison or Deerlodge to Missoula, and their western boundary northeasterly to a point in the Rockies in the neighborhood of the northern end of Powell County, their territory thus forming a wedge to the north. The former ownership of the triangular piece of country forming the southern part of Granite County, with Philipsburg as a center, is uncertain, but it probably belonged to the *Sɛmtē'use*. Some claim it to have been occupied by Flathead. In later times it was occupied chiefly by them. The *Sɛmtē'use* were thus entirely surrounded by Salish tribes—the Salish-*Tunā'χe* on the east, the Flathead on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the west.

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[31] According to tradition, the Stony (or Assiniboin) were not in the Rocky Mountains long ago; they were east of the Kutenai-*Tunā'χe* and Blackfoot. Later some of them appeared in the Bow River region, around Banff and Morley. At a still later date Shuswap also appeared in this region. They were allies of the Stony. It seems that the Assiniboin came in along the eastern slopes of the Rockies from the northeast or north.

[32] The Sarsi, it seems, were not known until comparatively late times. Their home is supposed to have been to the north of the Blackfoot, while the original home of the Assiniboin is considered to have been somewhere to the east of the Blackfoot. The Gros Ventres (or Atsina) were also to the east or southeast of the latter.

The Pend d'Oreilles.—The Pend d'Oreilles occupied all the Flathead Lake and Flathead River country, the Little Bitterroot, the Pend d'Oreille River west to about Plains, the Fork and Missoula Rivers to about Missoula. Northward they extended to about the British Columbia line. The original owners of that part of Flathead River that is in British Columbia is uncertain, as some informants of both the Pend d'Oreilles and Upper Kutenai claim it as hunting territory of their respective tribes. In later days it seems to have been used principally by the Upper Kutenai. The Lewis and Clark National Forest and the Flathead Indian Reserve are both in old Pend d'Oreilles territory. To the south they extended as far as the *Sɛmtē'use* (near Missoula). Thus they occupied the greater part of Flathead and Missoula Counties. According to some informants, all of Ravalli County was also claimed by the Pend d'Oreilles, although the Flathead occupied it a long time ago. It seems not unlikely that the Pend d'Oreilles of this part of the country, the *Sɛmtē'use* of Granite County, and the nearest Flathead bands were closely related and the boundaries between them not very well defined. Pend d'Oreilles territory narrowed down in the extreme north and south, and was partly bounded by the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Bitterroot Mountains on the west. The tribe had for neighbors the *Sɛmtē'use*, Salish-*Tunā'χe*, and Kutenai-*Tunā'χe* along the east; Upper Kutenai on the north; Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé, along the west; and Shoshoni and Flathead, south. After the extinction of the Salish-*Tunā'χe* the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, as their nearest relatives, laid claim to their country, and used it as their hunting ground. The Pend d'Oreilles used chiefly the northern part and the Flathead the southern; the approximate dividing line seems to have been across Sun River. Later, after the extinction of the *Sɛmtē'use*, the Pend d'Oreilles, claiming to be the tribe most closely related to them, occupied their country for hunting and root digging, including their large camas grounds near Missoula. The latter, however, were also used to some extent by the Flathead.

The Kalispel.—The Kalispel occupied a rather narrow strip of country following Pend d'Oreille River, up to Plains and thence north, taking in Thompson Lake and Horse Plains. They divided the Kutenai from the Coeur d'Alêne. This included most of Sanders County, Montana; the country around Pend d'Oreille Lake and Priests Lake in Idaho; and nearly all of Pend d'Oreille River within the State of Washington. A small corner of their hunting country extended into the Salmon River district in British Columbia. A division speaking a slightly different dialect also occupied the Chewelah district on the confines of the Colville tribe. The Kalispel were thus bounded by

Lower Kutenai on the north, Colville and Lake on the west, Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the east.

The Spokan.—The Spokan occupied that part of eastern Washington immediately south of the Kalispel and west of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that the bulk of the tribe was on the Spokane and Little Spokane Rivers. South they claimed the country to Cow Creek, and, according to some, along this creek almost or quite to Palouse River. North their country embraced the present Spokan Reservation, Loon Lake, Deer Park Lake, Peone Prairie, and all the northern feeders of the Spokane. Their western boundary seems to have been approximately a line running about due south from the mouth of Spokane River and passing through Ritzville. The Spokan hardly touched Columbia River at any point. They had for neighbors the Coeur d'Alêne on the east, the Kalispel and Colville on the north, the Sanpoil and Columbia on the west, and the Paloos on the south.[23]

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY.—The country formerly inhabited by the Spokan is arid in the lower valleys, but at higher levels very much of it consists of rolling, grass-covered plateaus and prairies with comparatively little timber. Much of the northern part of the Pend d'Oreilles country and most of the Kalispel country are more or less heavily forested. A great deal of it is hilly or mountainous, but there are also many flat open parts and meadows with luxuriant grass. Altogether the territories of the Flathead group of tribes were exceedingly diversified in natural features, rich in food supplies, and had good climatic conditions.

DIVISIONS, BANDS, AND HEADQUARTERS. *The Flathead.*—It seems now impossible to get a full list of the bands of the Flathead tribe previous to their change of organization brought about by the introduction of the horse and subsequent prolonged wars with the Blackfoot. It appears that there were at least four distinct bands having their main winter camps in the western parts of the country. Of these, it seems that one was on a river near Helena, one near Butte, another smaller one somewhere east of Butte, and one somewhere in the Big Hole Valley. The Big Hole and Helena bands are said to have been large. There are traditions of two other bands, making probably six in all, but I did not learn the localities in which they had their headquarters. It seems that some of the bands did not always winter in the same locality, while others did. It is said that some parties wintered alternately at widely separate places in the eastern part of the country. The inference is that some were nomadic to a large extent, while others, probably the majority, generally wintered in definite "home" localities. In the fair season it seems that most of them, perhaps all, divided into two or more parties, who traveled in different directions from one seasonal ground to another, hunting, root digging, berrying, visiting, and trading. Some of these parties traveled considerable distances on these trips. In the summertime bands of Flathead might be met with in the valleys of the Big Hole, Beaver Head, Madison, and Gallatin Rivers, and in the country north to Helena, as well as at points within the boundaries of their neighbors in the Bitterroot Valley and elsewhere. Parties also frequented the upper portions of Shield Creek and the Musselshell; but this may have been in later days, after the introduction of horses.[34] Changed conditions, wrought by the adoption of the horse, the importance of buffalo hunting, and wars with the Blackfoot appear to have resulted in the breaking up of the old system of geographically localized bands and to have forced the tribe to live together as a unit. In the summer the tribe split into two or three large parties, who came together for the winter in a single large camp or in two camps close together. Sometimes, for protection, the tribe remained united during the whole year. In later times they wintered as far west as possible, according to some, in Pend d'Oreilles territory. *Tkxa'lxmxls*[35] ("thick bushes" or "willow bushes"), now known as Stevensville, in the Bitterroot Valley, was for many years their main winter camp. In the schedule of Indian Reserves[36] the Flathead appear to be divided into three bands—the Bitterroot, Carlos band, and the Flathead.

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[23] If the Paloos are newcomers then they may have had the Nez Percé as southern neighbors; but the main settlements of the two tribes were far apart.

The Salish-Tunā'xe.—The number and locations of the Salish-*Tunā'xe* bands are not fully remembered. It seems that there were at least four main divisions. The largest band is said to have had their headquarters at a place called *Sxnsū'kol* (said to mean "ice piled up") on Sun River, near Fort Shaw. This was considered the main seat of the tribe. Another band wintered at *Sxnsū'skul* (said to mean "little ice piled up"), also on Sun River; a third division had their headquarters on Dearborn River; and a fourth generally made their main camp somewhere near Great Falls, but whether on the main Missouri or at the mouth of a tributary stream is not clear. A fifth band is sometimes spoken of as having lived farther north and west, in the foothills of the Rockies, at the heads of some small streams near some little lakes. The people of this band were mixed with Kutenai and it is not quite certain whether they belonged properly to the Salish-*Tunā'xe* or to the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*.

(In a later communication Mr. Teit sent the following information obtained from the Kutenai.) There were two bands with separate chiefs that lived together near Browning, Mont. (on the present

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[34] Some people think that very long ago there were scattered bands located more or less permanently at all these places.

[35] Compare *Kx'lxmix* (list of Okanagon villages, p. 208, No. 2).

[36] Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1906, p. 496.

Blackfoot or South Piegan Reserve), and this place was considered their headquarters. Here their old camp sites may be found, although now covered with earth. When the earth is dug away the tent circles may be seen, and the fireplaces. According to John Star, numbers of these circles of stones have been unearthed in this vicinity. Chief Paul told me that when a young man he had seen the remains of a great *Tuna'x̣e* camp in the country south of Macleod in the foothills, the circles of stones for their tipis being traceable for a distance of about 5 miles. The *Kakwagxmxtä'kxnik!* lived just north of them. They spoke the same dialect as the Upper Kutenai of Tobacco Plains and Fort Steele(?). They are said to have had their headquarters in the heart of the Rockies in the Crow's Nest Pass near Michel, British Columbia, and to have hunted on both sides of the divide. They are reported to have been killed off by an epidemic and the few survivors scattered. A very few of them settled among other bands of Kutenai as far north as Windermere. As the country around Macleod and south some distance is exposed to violent winds, stones would naturally be requisite for placing against the lodge poles to help steady the lodges.

The Sxmtĕ'use.—The *Sxmtĕ'use* also were in several bands, wintering at different places. Before the introduction of the horse the largest band was on Big Blackfoot River, which was considered the headquarters of the tribe. Some people lived on the Little Blackfoot and Salmon-Trout Rivers, but it is not clear whether they formed separate bands. One or two bands occupied the Missoula River country. It seems that one of these had headquarters near a place called *Skalsa'*[27] or *Eplĕ'thwa*[28] ("possessing camas"), later known as "Big Camas" or "Camas Prairie," between the Missoula and Big Blackfoot. Some think that a smaller band had headquarters near Deer Lodge and maybe Phillipsburg, but some informants assign this place to the Flathead. Anaconda is reckoned to be in old Flathead territory. In later days the tribe became more concentrated, and their main camp seems to have been near Camas Prairie.

The Pend d'Oreilles.—It seems that the earliest recognized main seat of the Pend d'Oreilles was at Flathead Lake. According to some informants, there were four main divisions of the tribe,[29] with headquarters in different parts of the country. Of these, probably the Flathead Lake people were the most important. They appear to have had several winter camps in the vicinity of the lake. Whether each camp or village was considered a separate band is not clear. It appears that some people lived north of the lake, with their main camp near Kalispel, and possibly a smaller one near Columbia Falls. Other people lived west of the lake, with headquarters probably at or near Dayton, and there were others near Polson at the foot of the lake. There were also winter camps lower down, near Jocko, Dixon, Ravalli, and at other places. A number of Pend d'Oreilles lived near Camas Prairie and at other places on the Missoula; but this may have been after the extinction of the *Sɛmtɛ̄'use*, as this place was considered to be on the territory of the latter. It seems that Pend d'Oreilles sometimes also wintered on the Bitterroot. A large band wintered at *Snye'lɛmɛn*[*] or *Snia'lɛmɛn*, near the present St. Ignatius Mission. Some time after the introduction of the horse this place became the main seat of the tribe, and Flathead Lake lost its importance. The same conditions which forced the Flathead to concentrate affected the Pend d'Oreilles also, but perhaps to not quite the same extent. It is said that about 1810 to 1830 nearly the whole tribe wintered in a single large camp at St. Ignatius Mission, in the same way as the Flathead did at Stevensville. There are some indications that the Pend d'Oreilles at one time may have been in two divisions, a northern and a southern, each comprising a number of bands.

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[27] Said to be the *Sxmtĕ'use* name. The name may be connected with camas.

[28] Said to be the Flathead name.

[29] Some say that each tribe of the Flathead group was divided into four bands or divisions, but this seems an attempt at more or less conscious systematization.

The Kalispel.—The Kalispel, it seems, were at one time in three divisions: (1) The Upper Kalispel, sometimes called *Ntsɛmtsɪ'ni* ("people of the confluence," from *ntsɛmtsīn*, "entrance, outlet, or confluence," a place at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, where a considerable band of them formerly wintered). (2) The Lower Kalispel, often called "the Kalispel" or "real Kalispel," and sometimes "camas people" and "*Kalispe'm.*" They are said to have been so called because they occupied the Kalispel country proper, the district around *Kalispe'lɛm* or *Kalispe'm*, the name of the large camas prairie west of the Pend Oreille River, near Calispell Lake, Washington. (3) The Chewelah, generally called *Slɛtē'use*, and sometimes *Tsɛntɪ'ɪs*. In later days they were often called Chewelah by whites and Indians (from *Tcɛwi'la* or *Tcuwɪ'la*, the name of one of their principal winter camps near Chewelah, Wash.). Some people considered these people a tribe different from the Kalispel, as they spoke a slightly different dialect and lived by themselves. However, they recognized their very close relationship to the Kalispel. I did not succeed in getting a full list of Kalispel bands, but it seems that there were several in each division. There were probably at least two bands of the Chewelah, as some people speak of their having had two winter camps. In fair weather some of them camped near Newport and Fool's Prairie, where they often remained many weeks. They also repaired regularly to Calispell Lake, where they dug camas with the Lower Kalispel. They occupied the country west of the Calispell or Chewelah Mountains in the upper part of the Colville Valley. The Lower Kalispel country was also nearly all in the State of Washington, where they occupied the Lower Pend Oreille River from about Newport down. This division is said to have had their headquarters on the east side of the Pend Oreille River, near Usk and Cusick, at a little creek called *Tsu'kol* (said to be from the name of the little water ouzel or dipper, because these birds were plentiful at this place). There were other winter camps on the river, most of them on the east side, and all within a radius of about 9 miles of this place. The present-day Lower Kalispel, consisting of Chief Marcellin's band, still live in this neighborhood. They refused to go on the Colville and other reserves, and lately had a strip of land reserved for them here. It appears that a small band formerly wintered at *Stïlkamtsi'n* ("confluence"), near the mouth of the Calispell River. Another old camp or village was at *Nyĕ'yot*, now called Indian Creek, on the east side of the river, about nine miles below Newport, where there is an island in the river. According to some, the main camp of the Lower Kalispel long ago was at a place on Pend Oreille River called *Stsst'a*, in the district where Chief Marcellin's band still live. The Upper Kalispel occupied all the tribal territory now within Idaho and Montana. Besides the band that formerly wintered at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, a band had headquarters at *Shwe'wi'* ("portage"), on the east bank of the river, at Albany Falls, and another at *Qapqape'* ("sand"), near Sand Point; and there are said to have been smaller bands at other places. In later times a band called "Camas Prairie" Kalispel, numbering about fifteen lodges, had their headquarters near the confines of the Pend d'Oreilles. A few descendants of this band are now on the Flathead Reserve. In later years the Pend Oreille Lake band often shifted their winter camps to various places within their territory, and occasionally many of them wintered with the Lower Kalispel. It is uncertain whether any band had regular headquarters at Newport, but people occasionally wintered there.

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[*] Said to mean "encircled" or "surrounded," some say because of groves of bushes and trees forming a circle, and by others because elk used to be surrounded at this place.

The Spokan.—The Spokan were in three main groups:[a] (1) The Lower Spokan, occupying the mouth and lower part of Spokane River, including the present Spokan Indian Reserve. (2) The Upper Spokan, or Little Spokan, occupying the Little Spokane River and all the country east of the Lower Spokan to within the borders of Idaho. Part of their territory formed a wedge between the Coeur d'Alêne and Kalispel. The plateau country south of Spokane River, around Davenport and toward Palouse, was used as a summering and hunting ground by both these divisions, and it seems there was no distinct line here between them. (3) The South or Middle

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[a] For the Indian names of these divisions, see p. [illegible]

Spokan occupied the whole Hangmans Creek country, extending south along the borders of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that they did not go west of Cheney. There were several bands of these divisions but I did not obtain their names and locations. A band called *Sntsuwë'stamn* lived at the head of the Little Spokane River.

POPULATION.—Informants agree that a long time ago the people of all the Flathead tribes were very numerous, but it is impossible to obtain any definite estimate of what the population was in early times. The oldest estimates I obtained were based on the number of lodges in winter camps about 1850. Most of these vary so much that they are of little value. This may be due partly to the fact that the number of people dwelling at certain points varied in different winters. Thus the number of lodges of the Kalispel in the winter camp or village at the outlet of Pend d'Oreille Lake is stated to have been not over 8 some winters, and in other winters as many as 15, while occasionally there were only 2 or 3, or even none at all. Likewise, at a place on Spokane River there were often 6 lodges, but some winters there were as many as 12, and occasionally 1 or 2 or none at all. At a time before horses were in general use the number of lodges to the winter camp probably did not fluctuate so much, so that many places had nearly the same number of inhabitants every winter, thus corresponding to conditions found formerly among the Coeur d'Alêne and other tribes. Of the Spokan, the upper division is said to have been the most numerous. The Lower Spokan were not so many; while the Middle Spokan were always a small body, numbering only a few hundred. A story is told relating the reason for their small numbers.[42] The whole Spokan tribe is said to have numbered more people than the Coeur d'Alêne, immediately prior to the advent of the fur traders; the Kalispel about the same as the Spokan; and the Pend d'Oreilles more than either. The Flathead numbered less than the Pend d'Oreilles, but it is said that they were much reduced by wars. Some say that tradition relates they were at one time the most populous and important tribe of the Flathead group, being considered the head tribe of the group. The *Sxmtë'use* and the Salish-*Tunä'xe* were said to be less in numbers than the Pend d'Oreilles. It thus seems possible that the total population of the Flathead tribes some time after the introduction of the horse, or before the beginning of the wars with the Blackfoot, may have been in the neighborhood of 15,000.[43] The Lewis and Clark estimates[44] around 1805–06, of 600 for the Spokan, 1,600 for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and 600 for the Flathead, are probably much too low for the time. The present-day population of the tribes, as given by the United States Department of Indian Affairs, is—

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[42] Folk-Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes. Memoirs American Folk-lore Society, vol. XI, p. 122.

[43] Revais stated that about 1850, and perhaps later, the traders estimated the Spokan, Kalispel, and Pend d'Oreilles each to have numbered about 1,000. The Flathead were considered to have numbered a little less, making perhaps a total of about 3,500 to 3,800 for the four tribes. The Kutenai on both sides of the line were thought to number less than 2,000; and the Nez Percé, from 3,000 to 3,500.

[44] See Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Flathead (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	557	615	623	590	598	-----
Pend d'Oreilles (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	640	627	633	670	665	-----
Kalispel (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	197	199	202	192	182	-----
Kalispel (Colville Agency, Wash.)	[1] 98	98	98	98	96	95
Spokan (Flathead Reservation, Mont.) [2]	135	133	135	144	138	-----
Spokan (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Upper and Middle	177	191	238	573	509	504
Lower	277	252	301			
Spokan (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	91	91	95	93	104	96
Okanagon (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Northern half	548	527	348	557	475	538
Southern half	144					
Coeur d'Alêne (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	494	496	506	492	533	537
Total [3]	3,358	3,229	3,179	3,409	3,300	-----

The chief reasons assigned for the great decrease in the population of the tribes are epidemics and wars. Almost the whole Salish-*Tunā'xe* and the greater part of the *Sxmtē'use* are said to have been killed off in wars. The survivors were nearly all swept off by smallpox about 1800. The Flathead are said to have been reduced to nearly half at the same time. The disease is said to have come from the Crow, passed through the Flathead to the *Sxmtē'use*, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and on to the Spokan and Colville, eventually dying out among the Salish tribes of the Columbia River. The Shahaptian tribes are said to have escaped or to have been only slightly affected. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Colville, and Columbia all suffered severely; but the disease is said to have been worst among the Spokan, whole bands of whom were wiped out. Michel Revais told me the following regarding this epidemic: "Smallpox came, it is said, from the Crow. This was in the wintertime about 100 years ago. The people were in their winter camps. My grandmother was a little girl at the time, and living at *Nteuwē'* ('little creek'), the first creek below Dixon, Mont. The father of my father-in-law was a little boy, and living at *Kalispĕ'lᴇm*, eastern Washington. Both of them took the disease, but survived. The Flathead suffered severely. Before this time they had a large population. It spread to the Pend d'Oreilles, then down to the Kalispel, the Colville, and finally down Columbia River. So many people died in some places that the lodges were full of corpses. Some of the 'long lodges' were quite full of dead and dying people. So many people died that they could not be buried, and the dogs ate the bodies." About 1847 measles spread over the country, and many died. The Columbia River tribes did not suffer much, but a great many deaths occurred among the Spokan. Revais said that many of the Spokan tried to cure themselves by sweat bathing and bathing in cold water, and all who did this died. Two white men called Walker and Lee, from Walker's Prairie, went among them and told them to keep dry and warm. After this very few died.

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[1] It is not clear whether this refers to Kalispel actually on the Colville Reserve or to the nontreaty band of Chief Marcellin living at their old home on Pend Oreille River. If these are not meant, the number of Marcellin's band should be added (about 100). It is said that a number of Chewelah Kalispel have allotments near Chewelah, and it is not clear whether they are included in the Kalispel under the Colville Agency.

[2] According to Michel Revais, the Spokan on the Flathead Reserve are nearly all Upper Spokan. There are a few Middle or Hangman's Spokan.

[3] The single figures and totals show that the census is approximate.

Migrations and Movements of Tribes.—Traditions of migrations refer principally to movements of tribes caused by wars. The most conspicuous changes of location were a southern movement of the Blackfoot and a western movement of the Crow and other Plains tribes. So far as known to the Flathead, the former migration was the earlier. The aggressions of these tribes resulted in forcing a general retirement to the south and west of the tribes occupying the western fringe of the plains, between latitudes 43° and 52°. The Shoshoni were forced south and west. Some bands were permanently, others temporarily, displaced; a few may have been destroyed. The Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e*, Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*, and *Sᴇmtē'use*, and possibly certain small bands of Upper Kutenai were driven west. All the Flathead moved westward. The Mountain Shoshoni and Bannock buffalo-hunting parties were driven west of the mountains. The Pend d'Oreilles and certain Kutenai moved southward and other Kutenai northward. For a time the buffalo hunting of the mountain Shoshoni, Bannock, Flathead, and possibly some Kutenai bands was partially discontinued. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles concentrated in large groups. At the instance of the Flathead, the Salish and other western tribes began to cooperate in buffalo hunting, war, and mutual protection. This resulted in the invasion of the plains for hunting and war by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other plateau tribes; the checking of further invasion and displacement by eastern tribes; the reoccupation of certain territories by the western tribes, and resumption of buffalo hunting.

The incidents of these tribal movements were as follows: At a time about six or seven generations ago (about 1700 or 1750), just before the Blackfoot began to have horses, war parties of Blackfoot attacked the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*. At this time the Shoshoni had plenty of horses, the Salish-*Tună'χe* and Flathead had them, the Kutenai had none, and the Kutenai-*Tună'χe* few or none. About this time the bands of Shoshoni living in the country north and east of the Salish-*Tună'χe* were attacked. Blackfoot parties in great force appeared persistently, and drove the Shoshoni out of the country, killing numbers of them. Finally all the Shoshoni disappeared south of the Missouri, and no Shoshoni came near the Missouri again for many years. The people of some bands were nearly all killed off, while others fled to the south. Some of them migrated a long distance, in order to be out of reach of the Blackfoot, and it is not known where they settled. None of them, except perhaps a few stragglers, went west into the mountains, and none stayed east of the mountains anywhere north of the Yellowstone. They went to a distant country and disappeared. Some of them may have been killed by the Crow.[a] At about the same time, when the Shoshoni were first attacked, the Blackfoot may also have driven out the more northern bands of Kutenai (the Kutenai-*Tună'χe*) that lived east of the mountains. Information obtained from the Kutenai agrees with this. The attacks of the Blackfoot on the Salish-*Tună'χe* continued, and for a number of years there existed a constant warfare between these tribes. The Salish-*Tună'χe* were a strong, wealthy, warlike tribe, and noted for courage. They resisted the Blackfoot stoutly, but at last were reduced to a remnant that lived at one place on Sun River. Here they held out for some time, but finally they were overwhelmed and completely scattered. Some were made slaves by the Blackfoot and others were adopted as members of the tribe. Some escaped and took refuge among western tribes. Most of them crossed the Rockies and settled among the Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. A number settled among the Flathead and a few among the Kalispel and even the Colville. Some strayed farther away and settled among the Nez Percé and mountain Shoshoni. A very few took refuge among the Crow, but none among the Coeur d'Alêne. Shortly before the final breaking up of the tribe, a band of them migrated east and nothing further was heard of them. Another band went somewhere south of the Missouri, where after a time they were attacked by either Blackfoot or Crow and most of them were killed. The remnants settled among the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock. Some *Tună'χe* died of a disease of some kind.

(At a later time Mr. Teit writes, basing his statement on information obtained from the Kutenai): The tribe had no horses and no guns. At some time, long ago, one of the bands living near Browning was visited by an epidemic, perhaps smallpox, and all died except nine, who became well through the ministrations of a young woman (called the younger sister). This girl had an elder sister married to a man of the other band, and lived among them. The nine survivors went to take up their abode with their friends of the other band, but the latter would not let them near for they were afraid of contagion. At last they allowed the girl to join her sister. The other eight then left the country, crossed the mountains to the west and settled among the Pend d'Oreilles. Some years afterwards the remaining large band disappeared, and it is not known whether they were exterminated by the Blackfoot or some other tribe, died of smallpox, or migrated. It is generally believed that they went off in a body to some distant country where their descendants are now living.

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[a] In answer to queries, I gained no information from the Flathead regarding the Comanche and Kiowa having lived in the north on the confines of the Flathead country. If they ever lived there they may have been considered Shoshoni, perhaps included among the Shoshonean bands who migrated south at the beginning of the wars with the Blackfoot. Neither did I get any information as to the Bannock having lived east of the mountains. Some of them occasionally wintered there, but their headquarters were around Fort Hall.

After the disruption of the Salish-*Tunā'xe*, Blackfoot parties began to enter the Flathead country and to attack the Flathead who wintered in the northern and eastern parts of the tribal territory. Many were killed. The rest forsook their former homes and retired farther south and west. The Blackfoot raids continued until all the Flathead concentrated for protection and moved west into the mountains.

All the tribes who had formerly inhabited the plains along the eastern side of the Rockies in this region had now disappeared, while the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock, who had for some time been in the habit of going east for buffalo hunting, were now, like the Flathead, obliged to remain west in the mountains and hunt buffalo at short range. The whole country along the eastern foot of the Rockies, north of the Yellowstone, was in possession of the Blackfoot and had become very dangerous ground. The entire Flathead tribe now wintered in the Bitterroot Valley, generally in a single large camp near Stevensville. Here they constantly coralled and guarded the large number of horses they possessed.

About this time the Crow were first heard of as advancing from the east and fighting the Shoshoni, whom they drove out of the Yellowstone River country into the mountains and around the headwaters of the river to the west and south. It seems that the Crow occupied part of the Shoshoni country and stayed there. In the same way the Blackfoot now occupied all the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe* country and part of the northern Shoshoni country, but they did not winter or make any permanent camps in the old Salish-*Tunā'xe* country. Their camps were all north of Sun River and the Missouri. Probably they would have gradually occupied permanently most of the country their war parties had overrun had they not been checked by the alliance of all the western tribes. This may also have checked the further advancement of the Crow westward. Having overrun nearly all the eastern country, the Blackfoot now extended their war expeditions west of the divide, and sometimes appeared at Stevensville, where they attempted several times to run off the Flathead horses, but never attacked the camp. They also appeared in the Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles countries, and in somewhat later times their war parties occasionally penetrated into the country of the Kalispel. However, the only ones that suffered much in these raids west of the Rockies were the *Sᴇmtē'use*, who are said to have been easy-going and loosely organized. Large war parties of Blackfoot attacked them several times and killed large numbers of people. The remnant of the tribe forsook their old camping places and wintered near Missoula. Here or on the Big Blackfoot River they were attacked again and many were killed. This was about 1800, before the smallpox came and before Lewis and Clark arrived. The remainder of the tribe succumbed to the smallpox and the few survivors settled among the Pend d'Oreilles.

A short time previous to this date the Pend d'Oreilles had combined with the Flathead for hunting on the plains, and in great measure they had forsaken their old style of life. Many of them had evacuated the region around Flathead Lake and the extreme northern part of their territory, at least for a great part of the year, and the bulk of the tribe wintered in one great camp at Mission (*Sniye'lᴇmᴇn*). About this time the Blackfoot began to have guns, which made them stronger, and parties often appeared in the northern Pend d'Oreilles country. The Kutenai could not cross the mountains to hunt, and at the invitation of the Pend d'Oreilles some of them had joined the latter for hunting buffalo. These Kutenai belonged to Rexford and Tobacco Plains; but some of them are said to have lived originally east of the mountains, and others at places in the northern part of the Kutenai country. In later times those Kutenai who associated most with the Pend d'Oreilles seldom returned to their own country after their return from buffalo hunting, but made their winter camps in that part of the Pend d'Oreilles country evacuated by the Pend d'Oreilles, chiefly north and west of Flathead Lake. Occasionally camps made west and south of the lake were composed of both Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. Some time after the Blackfoot had begun to make expeditions west of the mountains Crow war parties occasionally came into the western part of the Flathead country.

The Flathead now invited the western tribes to join forces with them for hunting buffalo in the old Flathead country east of the mountains. The Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé began to come, and about the same time many Kalispel joined the Pend d'Oreilles. Within a short time large parties of Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne arrived annually for buffalo hunting. It was not long before these forces were augmented by large numbers of Spokan and Columbia, and by small numbers of people from neighboring tribes farther west. At first the allies combined in two or three large parties. Sometimes Flathead and Nez Percé went together in one party and Pend d'Oreilles, Kutenai, and Coeur d'Alêne in another; but there were often different alignments. The Blackfoot and Crow were not much feared now and seldom appeared, at least in the more western and southern parts of the Flathead country. The allied parties often camped and hunted far afield on the borders of their enemies' territory along the Missouri and Yellowstone, as well as all through the old territory of the Salish-*Tunáˈxe* and part of that of the Kutenai-*Tunáˈxe*. Usually the great Pend d'Oreilles party hunted east and north and the Flathead party east and south. After the alliance of the northern plateau tribes with the Flathead, the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock began to hunt buffalo again on the plains. Some of their parties, alone or in conjunction with Salish, went as far north as the main Missouri. The strip of old Shoshoni country east of the Salish, from the Yellowstone to the Canadian boundary, became an intertribal hunting ground, and many battles were fought there. The Salish allies claim to have had generally the upper hand in the greater part of this territory. All the tribes now had firearms, the Coeur d'Alêne and some Shoshoni being the latest to acquire guns. Conditions continued to improve for the western tribes, who now easily held their own against the eastern tribes. It was no longer necessary to go in large parties. A few hundred people in each party usually sufficed. The Nez Percé, Bannock, Shoshoni, and Flathead often went separately. Most of the Kutenai and western Salish tribes still went with the Pend d'Oreilles, but the Coeur d'Alêne sometimes went with the Nez Percé, and the Flathead with the Shoshoni. The southern and western movement of Blackfoot and the western movement of the Crow were checked. The latter began to move north rather than west. After buffalo hunting was resumed by the Flathead they learned of other tribes who had meanwhile migrated west, and soon they came in contact with them. These were the Arapaho and Cheyenne in the southeast, the Gros Ventres or Atsina in the northeast, and the Assiniboin near the Gros Ventres. The Assiniboin are said to have come into the western plains from some place still farther east or northeast. They were enemies of the Blackfoot. The Gros Ventres are thought to have come about 1800 from some place a little east or south of the Crow. At one time the Gros Ventres and the Arapaho may have occupied the country to the east of the northern part of the Plains Shoshoni, and the Crow may have pushed them out. At that time they probably had no horses and were more sedentary. At one time the Gros Ventres, coming from the south, invaded some of the Blackfoot country. A war ensued, in which the Gros Ventres were defeated. Later they became friendly with the Blackfoot and were sometimes their allies in war. The Crow came almost directly from the east and were generally enemies of the Gros Ventres and Blackfoot. About the middle of the last century some other tribes were met or heard of, such as the Sarsi, who lived among the Blackfoot; the Cree in the north, just beyond the Blackfoot; Stony Assiniboin, in the Rocky Mountains to the north, who are supposed to have broken away from the real Assiniboin farther east; and the River Crow who had separated from the Mountain Crow and migrated north to near the borders of the Gros Ventres. Still other tribes were the Sioux, who came from very far east and were enemies of all the tribes; also the Omaha and others to the southeast. Iroquois and stragglers from various distant tribes came in with the early white traders and explorers. The causes of the southern movement of the Blackfoot and the western movements of the Crow and other tribes are unknown, but it is supposed that they originated in their desire to find a better buffalo country and to obtain supplies of horses. The country of the Salish and Shoshoni, east of the Rockies from about the Canadian line to a little south of the Yellowstone, was probably the best buffalo country. On the other hand, the Blackfoot and some eastern tribes are said to have had comparatively few buffalo in their countries. Also the western tribes are said to have been supplied with horses at an earlier date than those of the east. It is also considered possible that some of the tribes which invaded the western plains may have been forced west by enemies, as nearly all the eastern tribes fought among themselves as well as against the western tribes.[46] There are some vague traditions of other movements of tribes which may indicate migrations in very early times. They are not particularly connected with wars and are as follows:

A vague tradition among some of the Pend d'Oreilles says that their remote ancestors broke away from the main body of the people; that they were attacked by enemies, crossed a lake on the ice, and finally, after a series of migrations, reached their present country. The Thompson have a somewhat similar tradition. Some Pend d'Oreilles consider the Kalispel as an offshoot of themselves.

The *Sïatl'use* or Chewelah are said to have been a part or a band of the Lower Kalispel, originally inhabiting the Calispell Lake region, who moved into the Colville Valley. They claimed equal rights in the camas digging near Calispell Lake with the Kalispel of Usk and of the east side of the Pend Oreille River.

Although there appear to be no definite traditions on the subject, Revais considered the Kalispel as a branch of the Pend d'Oreilles rather than vice versa. He as well as others considered the Flathead as the parent tribe of the Flathead group. Revais stated that he had heard some vague traditions regarding some movements of tribes in the Spokan and Paloos countries, but he had forgotten them so far that he did not care to make any statement as to what they were.

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[46] In reply to queries, it was stated that the real or original Blackfoot country was north of Milk River. The Piegan lived here and the Blood and real Blackfoot north of them. At one time the Piegan neighbored with the Kutenai-Tuna'xe to the west and Gros Ventres to the east. The Assiniboin were east of the Gros Ventres. Whether the countries of the last two tribes were originally Piegan or Blackfoot is unknown. Kutenai, Piegan, and Shoshoni territories met at the Sweet Grass Hills. The Piegan also occupied the head of Milk and Marias Rivers, but this was old Kutenai-Tuna'xe country. It is not known how long the Shoshoni had been in possession of their country between the Missouri and the Sweet Grass Hills before the advent of the horse, but they are thought to have been there a long time.

There was a tradition among the Flathead that a long time ago part of their tribe migrated to the west, and that the descendants of this group are living in a distant country and still speak the Flathead language. This belief is held by several tribes, and is perhaps too general to be taken into account. Some of my informants believed that all related tribes of every language had originated by breaking away from some parent group and migrating here and there in search of better food supply, but the migrations happened so long ago that in most cases the traditions are lost. It seems possible that there have been some early movements of Flathead people westward toward the salmon streams. The Pend Oreille River route is easy of travel, and was the main route of communication between the plains and the western plateaus from the earliest times. Any migrations which may have occurred would have been by way of this route.

Intercourse and Intermarriage.—In olden times the Flathead had most intercourse with Salish-*Tunā'xe* and Shoshoni and intermarried chiefly with them. There was also considerable intercourse and intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles and *Sxmte'use*. The Flathead living around Helena are said to have mixed a great deal with the Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and even the Flathead of Butte and neighborhood were mixed with them. Some people say that before the days of horses the Flathead intermarried very little with other tribes; but there was some intermarriage with Shoshoni, and a little with Pend d'Oreilles and Salish-*Tunā'xe*. The Salish-*Tunā'xe* intermarried with Flathead, and also with the Shoshoni of the Lower Teton River. There was slight intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly some with Blackfoot. Most intermarriage, however, was with the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*. Some say that there was so much intermarriage with the latter that there was no very distinct dividing line between the two. The people north of Sun River, on the Teton and Marias, south of Browning, were more than half Kutenai in blood and language. It seems that among the inhabitants of the whole strip of country next the mountains and between the Blackfoot and Flathead a great deal of intermarriage had taken place. Probably Salish blood predominated from about Teton River southward and Kutenai northward, the people in the center being the most mixed. The *Sxmtē'use* had most intercourse with the Pend d'Oreilles, and intermarried chiefly with them. Those people who lived on the upper Missoula River intermarried to some extent with

Flathead of Butte or neighborhood. The Pend d'Oreilles had a great deal of intercourse with the Kalispel, and considerable with the Upper Kutenai and *Sxmtē'use*. Intercourse was rather less with the Flathead, slight with the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e*, Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e*, and Coeur d'Alêne, and least of all with the Nez Percé. Intermarriage occurred in the same relative degree as intercourse. The Kalispel had slight intercourse with the Lake, probably a little more with the Lower Kutenai, very little with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with the Upper Spokan and Colville, and a great deal with the Pend d'Oreilles. Intermarriage was chiefly with the last-named tribe. There was some with Spokan and Colville, and hardly any with other tribes. There are a few instances on record of Kalispel marrying Okanagon and Sanpoil. The Spokan probably had most intercourse and intermarriage with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with Kalispel, less with Colville and Sanpoil, and very little with other tribes. Some instances are on record of marriages with Okanagon and Columbia. I did not hear of any intermarriage with Paloos and other Shahaptian tribes, and intermarriage between the western tribes and Plains tribes was rare. After the advent of horses and the alliance of the tribes for buffalo hunting intercourse between the allied tribes increased and there were more intertribal marriages. Intermarriage now occurred between Flathead and Nez Percé, but no marriages were made with Crow or other Plains tribes. It seems that a little extraneous blood was introduced by marriage with slave women and captives of war, particularly among the Spokan, where some men had slave women of Snake lineage. A few others were from tribes south of The Dalles and possibly a very few were Shahaptian. The Flathead and Salish-*Tunā'x̣e* are said to have had a few slave or captive women in early times. It is supposed that they were Cree and Blackfoot or from the northeast. Women of eastern tribes were seldom made captives in war; they were almost invariably killed. After the advent of the whites the Flathead country became a haven for refugees of various tribes, who in many cases married and settled down there. Strange Indians in the service of the fur companies frequently settled among the Flathead. Thus there are a few descendants of many different tribes on the Flathead Reserve now. According to Michel Revais there are on the reserve people descended from Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Columbia, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville, Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmtē'use*, *Tunā'x̣e*, Kutenai, Blackfoot, Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Crow, Delaware (?), Shawnee, Cherokee, Chippewa, Iroquois; and possibly others, besides some half-bloods, mostly of French and Scotch descent. Some cases mentioned by him were as follows: *Xăpa'sqxt*, an Upper Thompson; *Sonsā'ukxn*, a *Stlaxai'ux* from Fraser River, who spoke Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap, and was a shaman; Little Charley, a man from the Fraser Delta, mixed with Lower Thompson; *Tsaloōmt'*, a Colville; Michel Colville, a Colville. These men were all in the employ of the Hudson Bay Co. at Fort Colville, and came to the Flathead together about 1860. They all married on the reserve, but left few descendants; only Michel Colville had two sons and a daughter who grew up. About the same time Michel Camille, half French and half Shuswap, settled on the reserve. He was born at Kamloops. About 1890 there came an Upper Thompson, who married and was living in 1910 on the reserve at Mission. Other cases are Joe McDonald, son of Angus McDonald, former Hudson Bay chief; Billy Irvine, son of another Hudson Bay man, an interpreter at Mission; John Grant, whose mother was Kalispel and whose father was a Hudson Bay man. It is said that John Grant lived at one time in a roundhouse of six rooms near Missoula, and kept his six wives, one in each room. Each wife was of a different tribe. One was Crow and one was Snake. Later he deserted his wives and children and went to Red River, Manitoba, and never returned. His descendants are now on the Flathead Reserve. Another case was that of Jack Demers, of French descent, who married a sister of Michel Revais, and at one time had a business in French Town. He had two sons and four daughters, all of whom are on the reserve. Jim Dalloway, Ben Kaiser, and Tom Hill, Shawnee refugees, settled among the Flathead about the time the early traders arrived. A white man who had a Piegan woman for wife settled in the Bitterroot Valley a long time ago and had a very large family. His children all intermarried with Flathead and some of them and their descendants are now on the reserve. About 1810 a Flathead girl was captured by Piegan or some other tribe from a Flathead camp near Sun River. Later on she married a Chippewa. Some of her descendants came back a few years ago and proved their rights in the Flathead Reserve. Revais claimed that there were 12 persons on the reserve who were half Flathead and half Shoshoni, and 6 men who had Nez Percé wives. Fifteen Iroquois settled among the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles and 19 among the Colville. All were at one time employees of the Hudson Bay Co., and all married women of these tribes. They have some descendants on the Flathead and Colville Reservations to-day. It is said that about 1820–1825 a small party of Iroquois, originally from around Caughnawaga, Quebec, under the leadership of Ignace La Mousse (or Big Ignace), reached the Flathead country, and being well received there, married and became members of the tribe. This party had been migrating westward for several years. Revais stated that when the treaty was made Governor Stevens told the Flathead that the Jocko Reserve was to be for the three tribes of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai. Some of the Flathead wanted a reserve for themselves, as they did not consider themselves bound by very strong ties of association with the Pend d'Oreilles and Kutenai. Sub-chief *Arli'*, with 25 lodges, and "Small Chief" Adolphe, agreed to go on the reserve. It seems that these people were very friendly to the Pend d'Oreilles. They may have been more closely related to them by intermarriage than other Flathead, or they may have been descendants of the Flathead who formerly lived next to the Pend d'Oreilles. "Small Chief" Ambrose and Chief Charlos (or Carlos) refused at first to go on the reserve, saying that if they had to share a reserve with other tribes they preferred to go with the Shoshoni. These chiefs and their people probably represented the element of the Flathead tribe long associated with the Shoshoni, and they may have been descendants of the Flathead formerly located next to the Shoshoni in the region of Big Hole Valley. When the treaty was made, the head chief and a majority of the tribe favored going with the Shoshoni rather than with any other people, if a reservation could not be obtained for themselves alone. In later years Kalispel and Spokan were allowed rights on the reserve, along with the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai.

Mental and Physical Traits of Tribes.—The Flathead are of medium stature, well built, and good-looking. The ancient Flathead were noted for courtesy, affability, hospitality, liberality, kindness, honesty, truthfulness, and courage. Lewdness of women is said to have been rare. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and Spokan are said to have partaken to a considerable degree of the same characteristics of temperament and physique as the Flathead. In later days there was much less chastity among the women of the last-named tribes. Some of the Shahaptian people considered the Spokan to be of a rather roving disposition, fond of trading, sports, and dancing, bold, and rather revengeful. Some tribes lower down the Columbia considered them as raiders and robbers. The Hangman's Creek Spokan were more serious, reserved, and quieter than the others. The Salish-*Tuna'x̣e* were fond of trading, warlike, courageous, and sagacious; the *Smië'use*, easy-going, careless, unwarlike, less prudent than their neighbors, and sometimes apt to talk and act foolishly. The Coeur d'Alêne were proud, cruel, and of a rather reserved, determined disposition. The Kalispel considered them too cautious and not very bold. The Thompson were thought to be wild and treacherous; the Kutenai, easy-going and not very warlike, rather reserved and cautious, honest, and sincere. The Shoshoni were considered good horsemen, and of a more roving disposition than the Flathead.

All the northern tribes and bands resembled the Flathead in physique and height, and many of the men were tall. The Shoshoni to the south are said to have been small people. The Lemhi, Shoshoni, and Bannock men were of about the same size as the Flathead, or possibly a little larger. The Omaha were big, stout, fleshy people.

The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

Material Culture in General.—As I spent only about a week among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse, however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the plateau area. The Salish-*Tuna'χe* were probably identical in material culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and southeast, although the difference between them was not great. The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tuna'χe*, appear to have more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

Work in Stone, Wood, etc.—It seems that work in stone was confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes. The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

Painting and Dyeing.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides. Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting was common on clothes, bags, etc. Before small beads came in, most ornamentation was in quillwork and painting. The dyes were principally red, blue, and yellow; but green and brown, and possibly black, were also used. Paints were of a great variety of colors. Most of them were obtained from mineral earths.

DRESSING OF SKINS.—Skins were dressed almost in the same manner as by the Coeur d'Alêne. In methods of dressing heavy hides, such as buffalo and elk, the grainers and scrapers were like those used by the Blackfoot.[1] Deerskins and other smaller skins were dressed by methods in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne,[2] Shoshoni,[3] and Blackfoot.[4] Skins were commonly smoked by the same methods as among the Coeur d'Alêne [5] and Shoshoni.[6]

RAWHIDE WORK.—Bags of several shapes were made of rawhide. Square and oblong bags made of single pieces of hide folded, the sides sewed and provided with long fringes, and the fronts painted, were used before the advent of the horse, but in those days the fringes were comparatively short. Later, when used on horses, the fringes were lengthened, reaching a maximum of more than a meter. A large hide bag of oblong shape was used for storing fat and meat, and another one is described somewhat like a bucket. The parflèche came into use with the introduction of the horse. Rawhide medicine cases, cylindrical in shape, were made by all the tribes, but their use is probably not very ancient, at least among the Spokan. Rawhide bags and parflèches were made in large numbers and were often sold to neighboring tribes.

WOVEN AND OTHER BAGS.—Skin bags of various sizes and shapes were ornamented with fringes and with quill or bead embroidery.

Some soft bags of animal skins in the hair were also used. Woven wallets of the Nez Percé type were made by the Spokan and at least by some of the Kalispel. In later years a few were also made by Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Bags woven of cedar bark and twine were made by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but not by the Flathead, who, according to some, made skin bags only.

WOVEN MATS.—Sewed tule mats were made by all the tribes, and are still made by some of the Spokan and Kalispel. Some mats woven of the bark of dead willow trees were made for lying and sitting on. The Flathead made very few of the latter. Some mats woven of rushes were also made and used for spreading food upon.

Some of them are said to have been very gaudy, with stripes dyed red and blue, and occasionally with other colors. Some mats had their edges cut in ornamental designs, as among the Lower Kalispel. (Fig. 26.)

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[1] *c*, pp. 67, 68, figs. 33, 34.

[2] See p. 46.

[3] *j*, pp. 176, 178.

[4] See Blackfoot, *c*, p. 65.

[5] See p. 46.

[6] *j*, p. 176, fig. 2.

Woven Clothing.—No goat's wool blankets were made by any of the tribes. Some robes woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by the Kalispel, and to a slight extent by the Spokan and probably the Pend d'Oreilles, but it seems not by the Flathead. No clothing of vegetal fiber of any kind was made by these tribes, except woven caps of the Nez Percé type, which were made in numbers by the Spokan, and to a less extent by the Kalispel. It is said that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Upper and Lower Kutenai did not make these caps. Revais stated that the Nez Percé and several of the tribes bordering on them made many woven caps for women, and woven wallets; but that the Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Shoshoni did not make them. He also claimed that robes woven of strips of skin (generally rabbit or muskrat) were not made by the Nez Percé, and only by some of the Shoshoni; that the Bannock made a good many, and possibly the Kutenai made a few. The Blackfoot, he said, used them and also made them.

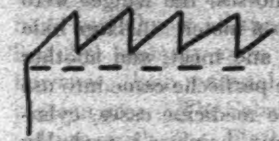

FIGURE 26.—Ornamental edge of a mat

Twine, etc.—Thread, twine, and rope were made of bark and hide, Indian hemp being chiefly used. Most of the thread for sewing was of sinew taken from the backs of animals, such as buffalo, elk, and deer. Needles were little used, but sewing was generally done with sharp bone awls. Nets were not much employed. Even the Spokan used traps and spears chiefly in catching salmon. Large nets, however, were used commonly by them in some places. It is likely that nets were employed more extensively by the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel than the information I collected shows, but it is doubtful if the Flathead used nets to any extent. According to some informants, they were not used at all.

Woven Basketry.—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes.

Bark Basketry.—Some birch-bark baskets were made by all the tribes, although certain bands, especially among the Flathead, made very few. It is said that most of the baskets were like the ordinary shape of those used by the tribes north and west; while some used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were similar to a kind also employed by the Kutenai, and of rectangular shape. Most baskets made by these tribes, including the Lake (see p. 122), had the grain of the bark at right angles to the rim, while Thompson and Shuswap had it parallel to the rim. (See *e*, p. 480 et seq.) A few of the

Lake baskets had the grain also parallel to the rim. Most baskets were devoid of decoration other than that introduced by the arrangement of stitching. (See pp. 52, 222.) Many temporary baskets of cedar bark were used—one made of a flat piece of bark with tied ends (see p. 53), a pail-shaped bucket, and a conical one. Baskets of the last-mentioned style were very much used by the Kalispel and are made yet. It seems that the Spokan and Flathead made the fewest bark baskets, and the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles the most. This may be partly accounted for by environment. Much of the Spokan country was either arid or prairie, with few good trees for bark close to the main camping places; while much of the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles countries are forested with an abundance of trees, including cedar.

COILED BASKETRY.[1]—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest, were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes. Some of the baskets intended for kettles were of very fine stitch and closely wrought. All the shapes were more or less circular. Some had bulging sides, and others were nearly straight sided. The bottoms of some were quite small, and others had rather large flat bottoms. It seems the "nut-shaped" basket of the Thompson was made. Nearly all baskets were made of split cedar roots. Formerly all baskets were plain. Imbrication seems to have been adopted by the Spokan and Kalispel about 1800, but it never spread to the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Probably basket-making was on the wane among these tribes before the process had time to reach them fully. Even the Spokan and Kalispel never adopted it fully, many of their baskets being unimbricated. The Spokan still made a few baskets not many years ago. Imbrication seems to have reached the Lower Kutenai about the same time as the Kalispel, but whether it was learned from the latter or reached them by way of the Lake is uncertain. Some baskets were imbricated with bark only. It seems grass and tule were occasionally used.

According to the Salishan, Shahaptian and Wasco, none of the tribes south of the Columbia used imbrication. Coiling and imbrication have been introduced quite recently in the Fraser Delta, among the Squamish and Seshelt; in Fraser Delta by intermarriage with the Thompson, among the other tribes by intermarriage with the Lillooet. This is clearly stated by the Indians and evidenced by the basket forms and decorations. The Shuswap claim that the Chilcotin learned coiling from them. The style of imbrication of the Chilcotin differs, however, from the known Salish styles (*o*, pp. 344–351). The Carriers and *Stuwī'x* made no coiled basketry.

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[1] See a, pp. 140-142.

Some bands, especially among the Flathead, are said to have made very few baskets, while others made a considerable number. Revais stated regarding the distribution of coiled basketry that all the Flathead tribes made coiled baskets a long time ago, including, it is said, the Salish *Tunā'xe*. The Nez Percé and many bands of the Shoshoni made them. The Lower Kutenai made some. The Upper Kutenai and Blackfoot used coiled basketry, but did not make any as far as he had heard. They procured it in trade from neighbors.

From present information it appears that the Salish tribes of the region east of Columbia River made coiled basketry of the round types exclusively, except in the case of some trays. This is true of both their ancient and modern work. They never used imbrication. The Shuswap also made unimbricated coiled basketry. Among the Columbia, the most western of the Salish tribes in Washington, whose territory extended up to the Cascade Mountains, the traditional form of basket was of the angular type without much flare, with rounded corners similar to the common style of the Thompson. They also made round ones which were not very deep, and "nut-"shaped ones, but the common kind of carrying and household basket was angular. They have used imbrication as far back as tradition goes, but some say formerly many baskets were little imbricated. After the introduction of horses the round deep basket with small bottom—often so small that the basket could not stand—superseded the square type, because it is better adapted for packing on horses.

Designs on Baskets, Bags, etc.—It is said that designs on mats were all in stripes, and most imbricated designs on baskets were in vertical stripes. Painted designs on bags and parflêches were all geometric, and most of the designs had names. Beaded and quilled designs were also for the most part geometric. Realistic designs were very little used. Flower designs, formerly rare but now much more common, have not been able to supplant the geometric designs.

Division of Labor.—Women made all the baskets, mats, and bags, and dressed all the skins. They also did all the embroidery, made nearly all the clothes, painted all the bags, parflêches, etc., made the tents and erected them, gathered most of the fuel, did most of the cooking, dug all the roots, and collected and cured all the berries. They also helped the men with the horses and in other ways. Men made all the weapons and most of the tools, painted robes, shields, weapons, and anything connected with their guardian spirits, made the feather bonnets and certain articles of clothing. They also hunted, fought, and looked after the horses.

III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

Semiunderground Lodge.—The underground house was not used by the tribes of the Flathead group, except possibly a very few by the Kalispel and Lower Spokan. Revais stated, "None of the Flathead tribes used the underground lodge; neither did the Kutenai. The Colville never used them, or at least they have not used them since about 1800, and it is doubtful if they ever had them. The neighboring Sanpoil used only a very few. These lodges were peculiar to the region to the north and were employed along Columbia River down to The Dalles. The northern type had the entrance from the top; and the southern type from the side, on a level with the ground. Otherwise the construction of both was the same, and notched ladders were used in both (?). The two types overlapped in the northern part of the Columbia region, about the mouth of Okanagon River.[1] The Okanagon used both types to some extent, but most people wintered in mat lodges. One Lower Kalispel informant said he thought a few underground lodges with entrance from the side were used very long ago, while another man stated that long ago a partly earth-covered lodge of tent shape and above ground was sometimes used in the winter by the Kalispel, and possibly by others. This kind of lodge was called an earth-covered lodge, whereas the real underground earth-covered lodge was not used.

Long Lodge.—Long lodges of double lean-to type were used at all large winter camps, especially in permanent camp sites. They were the dance and meeting houses of the band and were used for all public gatherings, ceremonies, and the housing of visitors. In large camps there were always two. One was used by the young people (generally men under 30 years of age) for dances, and the other by the older people for meetings. In some very large camps there was besides these a spare house or two of the same type for the accommodation of visitors. All the other houses of the camp consisted of tents, most of them mat covered. It seems, however, that long lodges were also sometimes used as regular dwelling houses. Some informants claimed that in very large camps there were sometimes from two to five dwelling houses of this kind. They were always made for six families, having three fires, with two families to each. There were no partitions. Revais said that a large winter camp would sometimes consist of about 5 long dwelling houses, each for 6 families, 2 long lodges used for dancing and meetings, possibly a spare long lodge for housing of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents. Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime. It accommodated from four to six families, according to size. In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni, and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction to Salish types.

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[1] It seems that a few underground houses with entrance from the top were used far south along the Columbia among the Salish, who commonly employed the type with entrance from the side. A few with side entrance also extended as far north as the Thompson. Yakima and Klickitat informants deny ever having used any with entrance from the top, so it may be that this kind was not used by any of the Shahaptian tribes. The Molala are said to have used an underground lodge, but I could not get any details of its construction, and do not know whether the entrance was from the top or not. The Klamath, Takelma, and Yana used semiunderground lodges, according to Wasco and Klickitat informants, while, according to Revais, the Kalapuya used no real lodges of any kind, only shelters of brush.

Conical Lodge or Tent.—The conical lodge was the common family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine (*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson, and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers. At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon, and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

Bark Lodge.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at camps where good bark was abundant. They were of the double lean-to or oblong type, and none of them were very large. The strips of bark were of the length of the lodge on one side from one entrance to the other, and as wide as obtainable. Usually there were three or four wide overlapping strips of bark on each side, laid horizontally. The bark was put on outside out. Among the Pend d'Oreilles cedar bark was almost altogether used, but the Kalispel claim to have employed tamarack and white-pine bark about as much as cedar. In some places the Pend d'Oreilles erected bark lodges on platforms of poles and boards on the top of posts, from 2 to 3 meters above the ground. In construction these lodges were the same as other bark lodges, but usually they had only one entrance, which was reached by a ladder consisting of a notched log. In the center of the lodge was a hearth of earth. These elevated lodges were used in places where fleas were numerous.

Other Lodges.—Shelters of brush were sometimes used by hunters in the mountains. Most of them were of double lean-to and conical forms; but some were of half-tent form, and others were little more than mere windbreaks, sheltering one side of the fire. Sometimes families who happened to stay in the mountains longer than expected, and who were not provided with skin tents and mats, made conical lodges of poles covered with brush, pieces of bark or grass, and further covered with earth to the depth of a few inches on the outside. A circular house of posts, which held up a roof of poles overlaid with brush, was used at some of the large camps in the summer time as a dance house and meeting place. It shaded the people from the sun. The sides were generally open all round. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles still use them in Fourth of July celebrations, when great dances are held. These summer dance houses were similar to the dance houses of tribes east of the Flathead, on the plains.

Sweat houses were of the same form as those of the Coeur d'Alêne. Scaffolds of poles were used at all permanent camps for storage purposes, and caches in or above the ground were also in use.

Household Utensils.—These consisted of baskets, bags, etc. Boiling was done with hot stones, and most kettles were of coiled basketry. Temporary kettles were made of cedar bark by the Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and occasionally by the Flathead. The last-named tribe also used holes lined with rawhide for boiling food. Paunches were used as temporary kettles by all the tribes, and it is said also by the Kutenai. The Upper Kutenai are said to have used some bark kettles and holes in the ground plastered with clay. The latter appear to have been used occasionally by the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly by other neighboring Salish tribes.

Coiled baskets were used as receptacles for water, and bark baskets were employed for the same purpose by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Mortars and pestles were used. Spoons and ladles were of mountain-sheep horn, and buffalo horn was also used. Some wooden and bark spoons were used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Skullcap spoons were in vogue. Cups and bowls were made of knots of wood and of bark. Probably some basketry bowls were used. The Flathead especially used shallow dishes and bowls made of sheep's horn. Bark dishes or trays were used by either the Kalispel or Pend d'Oreilles or by both. In most places long ago food was served on mats of rushes. Woven mats were employed to some extent as seats and beds, but buffalo and other skins in the hair were in more common use. Blankets consisted of robes of buffalo, deer, and other animals, dressed in the hair and made very soft. Back rests like those of the Plains tribes were used by the Flathead only, but I can not say to what extent. Fire drills were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne and Thompson.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Clothing (pls. 3, 4).—People generally went fully clad. Clothing was of the northern Plains type. That of the Flathead differed little, if at all, from that of their immediate neighbors. It was entirely of skins. Robes consisted chiefly of buffalo skins dressed in the hair; but some robes of elk, deer, bear, and other skins were also used. Woven robes were seldom worn, except by the Kalispel, who used woven rabbit-skin robes to some extent. They say that the Blackfoot and Bannock made woven rabbit-skin blankets, the Blackfoot also woven muskrat-skin blankets. See, however, the statement made by Wissler (*c*, p. 53). No clothes woven of sagebrush bark or other vegetal materials were used. Capes and cloaks were not worn, nor rain ponchos. The only overclothes used were robes, large and small. Some skin ponchos were in vogue among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mittens were in common use, but no gloves were worn until after the advent of the whites. Moccasins were of dressed skin of elk, deer, etc., and were of two common types. One kind, probably the most common, had the seam around the outside of the foot.[1] The other kind had a separate sole, and was like the common Blackfoot style of moccasin.[2] A moccasin with short tongue and seam down the front of the foot[3] was in vogue among the Spokan, but seems to have been rare among the other tribes.[4] Pieces of buffalo skin and fur were worn inside of moccasins

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[1] *c*, p. 138, pattern No. 5 (p. 160); Thompson, *a*, p. 216, fig. 199.

[2] *c*, pp. 140, 141, figs. 88, 89; the latter said by Wissler to be "almost peculiar to the Ute".

[3] *c*, p. 146, fig. 97; Thompson, *a*, p. 211, figs. 171, 172. (See also Field Mus. Nos. [illegible].)

[4] Of 7 pairs of new bead-embroidered Spokan moccasins that I examined, 3 pairs had the seam round the outside of the foot (*c*, p. 138, style No. 5); 2 pairs had separate soles, and were in cut, as far as I remember, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 88; 2 pairs had separate tongues, and seam down the front of the foot, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 97. All had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece of skin, but these were rather lower than the average of uppers on Thompson moccasins. All except 1 pair had trailers similar in cut to fig. 173 of Teit's "Thompson Indians." (*a*, p. 211.)

DRESSES

Interior Salish.

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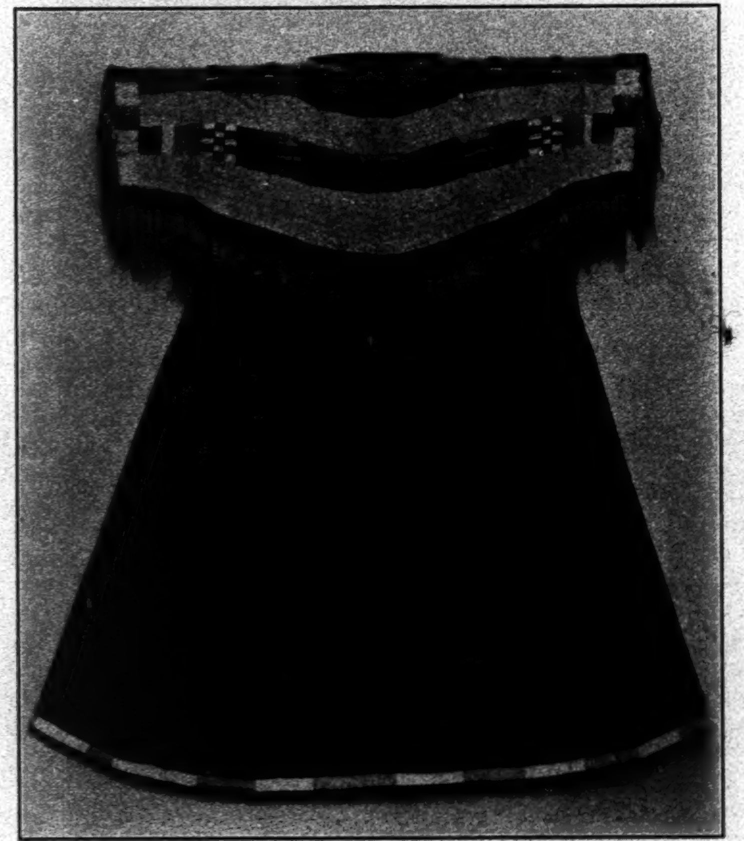

DRESS

Flathead tribe.

in the wintertime. Some winter moccasins were made of skin, the hair side in. For the methods of lacing moccasins among the Spokan see Figure 27.

Belts were of leather, and generally richly ornamented or embroidered.

MEN'S CLOTHING.—Men's costume consisted of a shirt reaching to the hips or a little below, long leggings, belt, breechclout, moccasins, and cap, headband, or feather bonnet. Some leggings had wide uncut flaps, while others had cut fringes along the sides. Long aprons were worn in front, besides the breechclouts. Some breechclouts consisted of a long strip of cloth which passed between the legs and hung down over the belt in front and behind. Garters were much used with leggings. I did not hear of any combination of breechclouts and leggings.

Shirts were of two or three kinds. One kind reached to a little above the knees and had true sleeves. It had a number of seams—one on each side, one underneath each arm, one along the top of the shoulders, and one at each shoulder where the sleeves joined the sides. These, however, may be considered as part of the side seams. All the seams were ornamented with long cut fringes of dressed skin. Sometimes fringes were made of ermine skins. The bottom was cut in a long fringe all round. Shirts of the old style all opened at the neck or shoulders, and not on the breast. A common shirt was the so-called "scalp shirt" or "war shirt." It was fringed with hair (often with scalp locks) instead of skin, and appears to have been exactly the same in cut and ornamentation as the poncho shirts described by Wissler.[5] A scalp shirt which I saw among the Spokan had the leg pieces cut short, and this is said to have been customary with some; otherwise it was almost the same in appearance as the one figured by Wissler.[6] Some shirts of the same type were made without hair fringes, and some were made of light buffalo skin with the hair side in. Probably the latter were really short ponchos, and used only in winter. Long ago no coats, vests, jumpers, trousers, or boots were used. After the coming of the whites all of these gar-

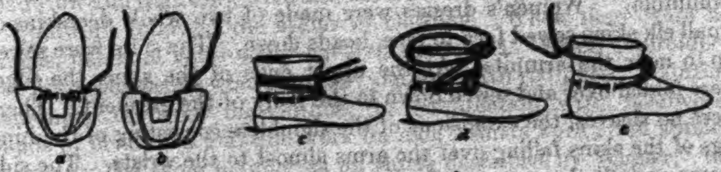

FIGURE 27.—Moccasins, Spokan

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[5] d, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

[6] d, p. 47, fig. 1.

ments gradually came into use, including blanket capotes. At the present day skin vests entirely covered with beadwork are very common.

Fur caps were used in winter. Headbands of various kinds were in common use, including those made of buffalo hair and horses' tails.

Feather bonnets of several types were used by men of all the tribes from the earliest times. The particular style of bonnet later known as the "Sioux war-bonnet" was adopted from the Crow. These bonnets were an article of trade on the plains. Earlier the Salish had a somewhat similar bonnet; but the so-called "Sioux bonnet" was considered to be more striking.

WOMEN'S CLOTHING.—Women's costume consisted of a long dress reaching nearly to the ankles, short leggings reaching to the knee, moccasins, a belt, and cap or headband. The style of woman's dress that consisted of cape and bodice reaching to the knees or a little below was not used by any of the Flathead tribes. According to Revais, "This kind of costume was used at The Dalles, and from there down to the coast. It was also used along Columbia River by a few people for some distance above The Dalles, and in some parts to the west. It was considered a style belonging to the coast and Lower Columbia." Women's dresses were made of two whole deerskins or small elk skins sewed face to face, heads down. The sides were sewed up to near the armpits. At the upper ends of the skins the edges were folded over and sewed down to the body of the garment. There were no sleeves, the extensions of the shoulders consisting of the hind legs of the skins falling over the arms almost to the wrists. The side seams and all the outer edges were fringed. Generally the tailpieces were cut off and the bottom of the dress was trimmed so that it was longer at the sides. Usually one or two rows of inserted thongs depended from the dress near the bottom. Of the dresses described by Wissler, that shown in his Figure 18[7] appears to be closest to the common style of the Flathead tribes, both in cut and ornamentation. In later days some cloth dresses, generally red and blue, were used instead of skin. They were cut and ornamented in much the same way as the skin dresses.[8]

Women's legging reached up to the knee or a little above, and were of two or three styles. One kind was fastened on the outside of the legs with tie strings; while another kind was made for the foot to pass through, and was held in place by a draw string below the knee.[9] It seems that women's caps and headbands were of dressed skin. Woven caps of the Nez Percé type were used to some extent by women of the Spokan and Kalispel, but not until later years by the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. The women's caps made of skin were similar in shape to those of the Coeur d'Alêne, Thompson, and other tribes.

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[7] d, p. 66.

[8] See Flathead specimen, Field Museum, 111969.

[9] See Flathead specimens, Field Museum, 111762, 111763.

Ornamentation and Designs on Clothing.—Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, pinking, puncturing, dyeing, painting, and by decorating with burnt work, quillwork, and beadwork. Elk teeth and shells were also used. Almost all the designs were geometric, but a few were floral. In later days floral designs partially supplanted the geometric designs, especially in beadwork. However, most of the designs remain geometric, except perhaps among the Spokan. Many of these designs are the same as those found in bead embroidery of the Blackfoot and other eastern tribes. Some, also, are similar to old designs among Salish tribes farther west. Solid beadwork occurs on many bags, moccasins, vests, belts, etc., and is more common than among the western Salish tribes. White is the common ground color, but blue is not infrequent, and red and yellow also occur. Woven beadwork occurs, but it is not common, and may be of recent introduction. Most of the beadwork is flat, but the style sewed so as to give a ridged effect also occurs. Designs on robes were generally painted, but some burnt work and beadwork and quillwork were also used. Generally bands of beadwork or quillwork followed the seams of clothing. When there were no fringes, bands of embroidery covered the seams. When embroidery was not used, seams were generally painted with red lines. Painting sometimes occurred on clothing in conjunction with beadwork. Bands of beadwork and quillwork on men's shirts were often applied in exactly the same manner as on shirts described by Wissler,[10] the triangular piece of breast ornamentation being very common. Circular ornamentations were also in use. The yoke of women's dresses was generally embroidered with horizontal wavy lines in beadwork or quillwork, and often the whole area was covered with solid beadwork. A row of fringing, often strung with beads or other pendants, generally followed the lower lines of the beaded areas across the dress from one side to the other. Also usually one or two lines of beadwork crossed the dress from side to side near the bottom.[11]

Men's leggings often had bands of beadwork following the side seams, and occasionally cross lines near the bottom.

Women's leggings were sometimes crossed with solid beadwork, and sometimes had designs only on the bottom fronts, or a wide band of beadwork around the bottom.

Men's and women's belts were generally richly beaded, and women's caps more or less so.

Ermine skins were often used for fringes and ornamentation on men's clothes, and they were much used as side fringes to war bonnets. Human and horse hair were also used in ornamentation of clothes.

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[10] 4, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.

[11] See Flathead dress, Field Museum, [illegible].

The colors employed in painting clothing were chiefly red, yellow, and black. Some of the painted designs on men's clothing represented

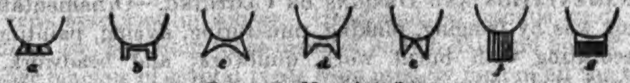

FIGURE 28.—Moccasin trailers

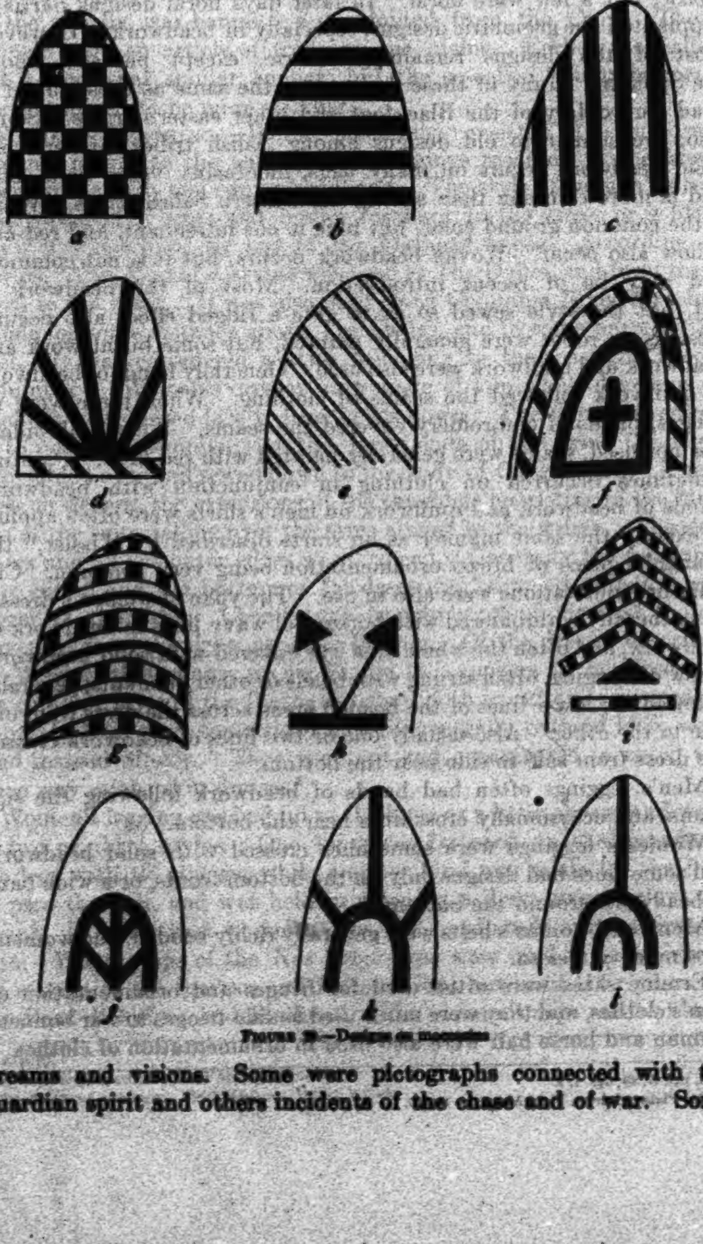

FIGURE 29.—Designs on moccasins

dreams and visions. Some were pictographs connected with the guardian spirit and others incidents of the chase and of war. Some buffalo robes had broad beaded bands similar to those on robes used by many Plains tribes. Moccasins and shirts were sometimes painted yellow with wolf moss. Moccasin trailers are shown in Figure 28.

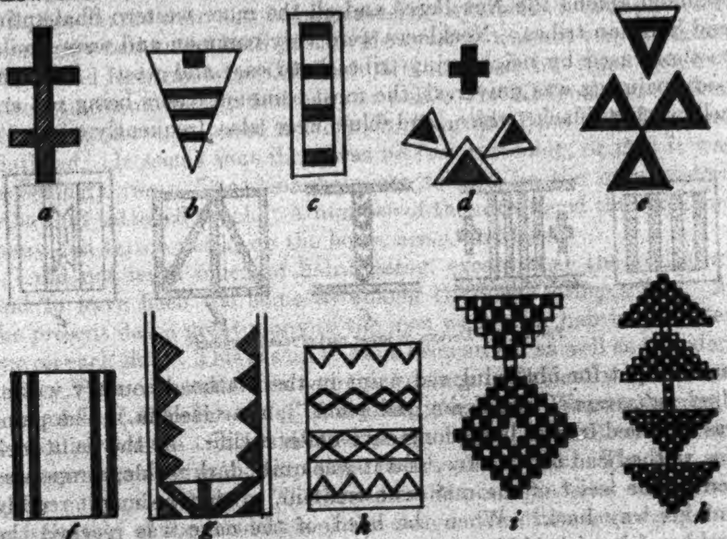

FIGURE 30.—Designs on front of women's leggings

A few of the beaded designs on moccasins, leggings, and dresses[13] that I noted among the Spokan are shown in Figures 29–33.

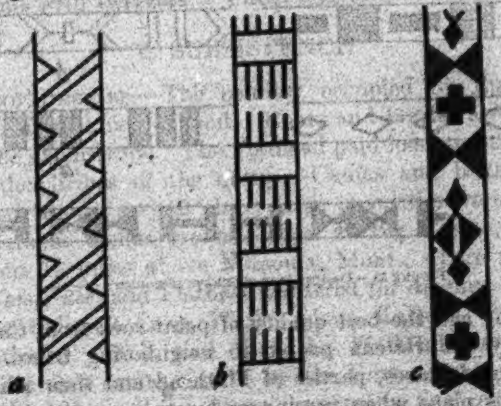

FIGURE 31.—Designs on sides of men's leggings

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—Ear pendants were common in early times. Large shell pendants were especially common among the Pend d'Oreilles, and to a less extent among the Kalispel. Most of them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. No nose ornaments or nose pins were used by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, and they were rare among the Kalispel and Spokan. It is said that they were common among the Nez Percé and all the more western Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Necklaces were very common and were similar to those used by neighboring tribes both east and west. Face and body painting was universal, the most common colors being red and yellow, but black, white, and blue were also frequently used. A famous spot for obtaining red paint in the Flathead country was at *a'psl yu'tsamxn* ("possessing red paint"), near Helena. The paint was obtained from a large, long cave under a cliff. As the paint rock was at the head of the cave, and it was quite dark inside, a rope was tied to the waist of the man who went in, so that he might readily find his way back. When the head of the cave was reached the searcher felt with his hands and pulled down blocks of the decomposed rock, returning with as much as he could carry. When he came out he divided the paint among the people, who put it into hide sacks. Long ago the best quality of paint rock from this place was exported by the Helena people to neighboring tribes. After the introduction of horses, parties of Flathead and their allies gathered paint at this place when passing or hunting near there. It is said that several men lost their lives or were injured in this cave by rocks falling on them. There was also a belief that this cave could open and shut at will, and that several men had been killed by it. Much of the body and face painting of men was symbolic in character and connected with war exploits and guardian spirits. At a recent dance

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[13] See Field Museum, [illegible], 111909, 111762, 111763.

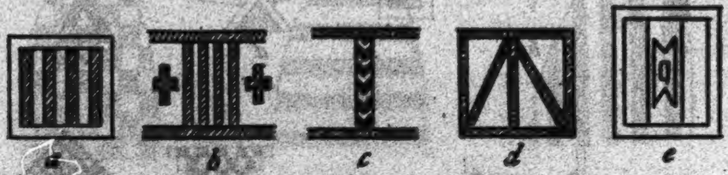

FIGURE 32.—Designs on lower part of men's leggings

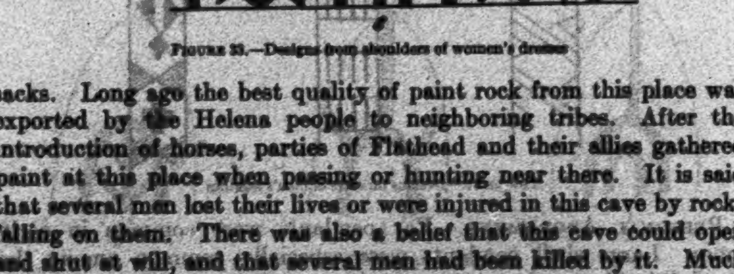

FIGURE 33.—Designs from shoulders of women's dresses

near Jocko, Chief Moise appeared with his lower legs painted yellow, because the war exploit he was about to relate occurred on the Yellowstone River.

Tattoo marks were also in large measure symbolic. Like painting, tattooing was done by both sexes. However, it was not very common. Wrists and forearms were the chief parts tattooed, but some men had tattoo marks on the legs and body as well. The Kalispel and Spokan are said to have tattooed much more than the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. It seems that there was no face tattooing, or that it was exceedingly rare. The Assiniboin are said to be the only eastern tribe that tattooed much. A number of them tattooed the face; and many had tattoo marks on the body, arms, and legs.

I did not learn much of hairdressing, except that the styles are said to have been the same as among the neighboring tribes. At the present day a great many of the men wear their hair in two cues, one on each side. This is said to have been an old as well as a modern style. Formerly some men wore a forelock. Evidently there were a number of different styles of dressing the hair. Women generally wore their hair in two braids tied at the back. Men often attached ornaments and strips of fur to the braids of the hair. The hair was never cut and roached. The headdress of porcupine and deer's hair, in imitation of the headdress of the Osage, now often worn by young men in dances, is of modern introduction. Some men wore long headdresses of human hair woven together, the tresses being joined with gum. I do not know if this style is old or not. The beard was pulled out with tweezers. Pubic and other body hair was not removed.

V. SUBSISTENCE

ROOTS AND BERRIES.—The country occupied by the Flathead tribes is rich in all kinds of food. Roots and berries are abundant, and were used extensively. The Flathead paid less attention to these than the other tribes of the group. Camas and bitterroot were highly valued, and in several places large quantities were dug. The two most famous camas grounds were at Big Camas, or Camas Prairie, about 15 miles above Missoula, Mont., where many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sɛmtɛ'use*, and Flathead gathered for digging; and Camas Prairie near Calispell Lake, Wash., where Kalispel, Spokan, and Colville gathered. It is said that the Flathead were promised Camas Prairie as a camas reserve by the Government, but did not get it. Besides these places, there were many fine camas grounds in other parts of the tribal habitat. The territory of the Kalispel especially was noted for richness in camas. On the present Flathead reserve there were two much-used camas grounds at Camas Prairie and Crow Creek belonging to the Pend d'Oreilles.

Root diggers were of the same kind as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Handles were of wood, horn, and antler. At one time baskets were generally used in the gathering of roots; but as basketry gradually went out of use, woven and hide bags, large ones of the Nez Percé type, and some of soft skin and rawhide, took their place. Baskets were gradually abandoned after the introduction of the horse, owing to the increased amount of traveling and the preeminence given to buffalo hunting. They were too rigid and bulky for constant horse travel, and, besides, the women who traveled long distances on buffalo hunts had no time to make them, and often found themselves in districts where basket materials could not be obtained. Each generation saw fewer baskets made, and with the coming of the whites they were no longer required as kettles. In large measure they also lost their value as articles of trade.

Bark baskets were used extensively in gathering berries. For gathering huckleberries in the higher mountains the Kalispel used conical cedar-bark baskets. At the present day they often dispense with root diggers and use plows instead. A few long furrows are plowed across the camas meadows; the women follow and gather the upturned roots. A large quantity of roots is thus gathered in a short time.

The methods of curing berries and curing and cooking roots appear to have been much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. There may have been some differences between the Spokan in the extreme west and the Flathead in the extreme east. The Spokan used circular pits for the storage of dried fish, roots, berries, and even meat. These were opened and aired from time to time.

The following is told of the seasonal occupations of the Spokan. The majority of people of most bands scattered over the tribal territory, and even over that of neighbors, for eight or nine months of the year, gathering roots and berries, hunting, fishing, visiting, and trading. The rest of the year was spent in winter camps. Then they lived on the food which had been secured and hunted occasionally on the near-by hunting grounds. In some places they also fished. This was the season of social entertainments and dancing and also of manufacturing. Many of the women made most of their mats, baskets, bags, and clothes at this season, the materials having been gathered previously.

Generally speaking, the people occupied themselves chiefly as follows during the year: In the springtime, digging certain roots, hunting and fishing on the nearer grounds; in early summer, fishing for trout and salmon, hunting, and root digging; in midsummer, root digging and berrying, only a little hunting; in late summer, salmon fishing and berrying, very little hunting or root digging; in early fall (about September), the same occupations as in late summer; in late fall (October and November), root digging and hunting in the early part, and finally only hunting. In December they went into their winter camps and left them in March. Trading parties to The Dalles and other places left in August and returned for the late fall hunting. They dug roots and hunted, if convenient, on the way going and coming, but chiefly on the way back. Buffalo hunting parties also left in August. Some came back late in the fall, about November, and some did not return until spring.

The following is a list of the principal roots and berries gathered by the Spokan:

ROOTS

1. *A'thwa, ĕ'txwa* (*Camassia esculenta*).
2. *Spa'tlEm* (*Lewisia rediviva*).
3. *Pa'iwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 3]).
4. *Pō'xpux* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 4]).
5. *Tu'xwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 5]).
6. *Sä'tc* (*Allium* sp.).
7. *Kala'wal* (*Allium* sp.).
8. *Sūōkōm* (unidentified).
9. *MEsä'we* (unidentified).
10. *SkwEnkwē'nEm* (*Claytonia* sp).
11. *SEsī'lEm* (unidentified).
12. *Tsä'wax* (*Fritillaria pudica* [?]).
13. *Siai'EkEn* (unidentified).
14. *Sqa'kErtsEn* (unidentified).
15. *Melä'Epa* (*Cnicus undulatus* [?]).
16. *To'qwa* (*Balsamorrhiza* sp.).

BERRIES

1. *Slä'k* (*Amelanchier* sp.).
2. *Łö'xlöx* (*Prunus demissa* Walp.).
3. *Tsĕkwī'kʷ* (*Sambucus* sp.).
4. *Stsa'ts.tx* (*Cornus pubescens* Nutt.).
5. *Shwa'naic* (*Crataegus* sp.).
6. *Nwa'wesls* (*Rubus* sp. [raspberry]).
7. *Pō'lpolqEn* (*Rubus* sp. [thimbleberry?]).
8. *Ta'ltaltlaax*[1] (*Rubus* sp. [trailing blackberry?]).
9. *Sqweikwei'qEn* ("black head," *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.).
10. *Nta'tsEmelps* (*Ribes* sp. [red gooseberry]).
11. *Yä'rica* (*Ribes* sp. [black gooseberry]).
12. *Tsä'lx*[2] (*Ribes* sp. [currant]).
13. *Shë'xEm* (*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.).
14. *Qei'tqEm, kei'tkEm* (*Fragaria californica*).
15. *StExcä'lk* (*Vaccinium membranaceum*).
16. *Npokpoka'qEn* (*Vaccinium* sp.).
17. *Sist'pt* (*Vaccinium* sp. [small blueberry]).
18. *Sqo'eyu* (*Berberis* sp.).
19. *Skole's* (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*).
20. *Shoia'pak* (*Rosa* sp.).
21. *TEpiEpiai'Elp* ("black" or "dark," very seldom eaten; unidentified).

SElExwai'lspkan (the snowberry) was not eaten.

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[1] Compare Thompson name of this berry.

[2] Compare Thompson name for Oregon grape, *Berberis* sp.

SOME OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

Qa'pux̣a (hazelnuts).
Swi'elc (nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis*).
Stseini'tca (nutlets of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Me'tcio (seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*).
Stsa'xwe (cambium of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Sɛnamox̣tci'nɛm (cambium of *Pinus contorta* or of poplar [used a little]).
Hoxta'lp (stalks of *Heracleum lanatum*).
Skola'pkɛn (*Alectoria jubata* L.).
Shwi'ɛna (*Opuntia* sp.).

Rib-bone knives and animals' shoulder blades were used as sap scrapers.

AGRICULTURE.—According to some informants, tobacco was raised long ago in some places by the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and probably by the other tribes also. The Spokan are said to have grown wheat as early as 1835.[1]

HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The double-curved bow was the only kind used by all the Flathead tribes. The only neighboring people who used wide flat bows exclusively, or almost exclusively, were the Lower Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne. For this reason the former were called "Flat Bow" ("Arc platte") by the fur traders and the latter "Wide Bows" or "Flat Bows" in the sign language. All the best bows were made of syringa wood and were sinew backed. The Spokan and many men of all the tribes covered their bows with bull-snake skin. Horn bows were used by all the tribes, and especially by the Flathead. Some were made of a single piece and others were joined of two, rarely of three, pieces. Arrows were similar to those of other Salishan tribes.

Long ago rattlesnake poison was sometimes used on arrowheads. No beaver spears were used. Lances were occasionally employed in killing game. Dogs were used in some ways of hunting.

Hunting before and after the introduction of the horse.—I obtained the following information from Michel Revais and others regarding the methods of hunting. Long ago the Flathead country was one of the very best countries for game and all kinds of food. On the Great plains, where buffaloes migrated in great herds, little other game was found. In the Flathead country, buffalo were always present, and at times, when they became scarcer than usual, plenty of other game could be procured. On the other hand, in large portions of the plains to the east, when the buffalo left, there was very little other game to be obtained; in many places, at least, not sufficient to feed a large company of people. For this reason, before the advent of the horse, portions of the great open plains were seldom visited. When the buffalo deserted a part of the plains they sometimes traveled long distances and were hard to follow and overtake on foot. People who attempted to live in these places would have to follow the buffalo or starve, and they could not easily travel great distances carrying their children, old people, and baggage. Even dogs with travois could not help them a great deal, for the dogs would require to be fed meat constantly. Prairie fires were also dangerous and often drove game away. Besides this, in those days without horses the common game of the open plains (buffalo and antelope) could not be hunted as successfully as in a more or less broken country. Thus long ago people made their headquarters in diversified country, more or less hilly and wooded, where good shelter, firewood, poles, and water were abundant, and where there was a variety of game and fish, where many kinds of roots and berries were growing, and where materials for manufactures were at hand. As the places having the best conditions were in the more or less hilly and partly wooded country in proximity to the Rocky Mountains, most bands made their headquarters in the country of the foothills. Some bands who lived farther east had their headquarters within valleys in local or isolated ranges of hills. In some cases there were considerable distances between bands, while other bands were comparatively close to one another. In all cases there was a sufficient area of hunting country intervening to allow of good hunting for all. As a rule, people hunted the country halfway over to the next band. Traveling over long distances occurred, but usually not for collecting food supplies but for visiting, trading, or on the warpath. They traveled light and lived on the game of the country as they went along, leaving all surplus meat that they could not carry. Long ago buffalo were not considered much more valuable for meat and skins than some other kinds of large game, such as elk, for instance.

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[1] E. E. Dye states that the Spokan were growing wheat in 1836, grinding it at the Hudson Bay Co.'s mill at Fort Colville, traveling a distance of 70 miles. (McLoughlin and Old Oregon.)

Buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country and in the country of the Salish-*Tuna'xe*. Elk, antelope, and deer of two or three kinds were also plentiful; moose and mountain sheep abounded in many places. Goats occurred, but they were seldom hunted owing to the abundance of other game easier to obtain and considered much more valuable. Besides large game, small game and game birds were abundant, also roots, berries, fish, and shellfish. The Pend d'Oreilles used shellfish, but it must have been a matter of choice with them, and not necessity, for their country was almost as well stocked with game as that of the Flathead. Buffalo were less abundant, but other kinds of game were probably equally as plentiful as in the Flathead country, if not more so. Besides, at one time caribou abounded in many places north of Pend Oreille River, and both the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel hunted them. All the game common to the Pend d'Oreille country was also found in the Kalispel country, with the exception of buffalo, which penetrated there only occasionally. The Spokan had no caribou, moose, and buffalo in their country, but great numbers of elk, deer, and antelope. Bears were at one time numerous. After the introduction of horses, buffalo hunting, transportation, and traveling long distances became easy. Hunting of other game lost in importance. It was now possible to load great pack trains with meat and skins, and to put up supplies at any place. Great bands of people could travel together. In fact, the larger the parties, the easier the buffalo hunting. Buffalo hides and robes became considerable articles of trade with the more western tribes, who did not go buffalo hunting. For these reasons the old style of life was being given up and the people became almost exclusively buffalo hunters, as this was the easiest way of making a living. Whatever was unsuited to the new mode of life was discarded. Thus the mat tent went out of use and was replaced by the skin tent. Rawhide bags came more and more into use; parflêches were universally used as packing cases. A few baskets and mat lodges continued to be used at the main winter camps and in the most western parts of the country. Fishing, digging of roots, and gathering of berries became of less importance, because these industries could not always be prosecuted when buffalo hunting. Good berrying and root-digging grounds were not usually places best suited for buffalo hunting, and people often found themselves far away at the proper season for berrying and root digging. Thus there arose a tendency to neglect these sources of food supply, as well as the hunting of other game. A certain amount of roots and berries was gathered and cured by old people, who did not go with the regular buffalo-hunting parties. The Flathead believe that the Crow and other tribes were affected by the introduction of the horse in much the same manner as themselves, and gave up their old manner of living to be buffalo hunters on the plains. Revais and others believed that the Crow and all other eastern tribes, before the introduction of the horse, must have lived a semisedentary life, somewhat similar to the old life of the Flathead, and that they must have had headquarters in some semiforested country to the east. They could not have lived continually out on the open plains as buffalo hunters before they had horses. The Flathead did not make the changes necessary to their life of mounted buffalo hunters by copying from the eastern or Plains tribes; for at the time (say, about 1600) they were not in contact with the Plains tribes. Besides, it is known that at least the Blackfoot and the Assiniboin obtained horses at a date much later than the Flathead; and it is believed that all the eastern tribes, such as the Crow, Sioux, and Arapaho, obtained their first horses also at a date later than the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni. It is believed that all tribes, both east and west of the Rocky Mountains, secured their first horses directly or indirectly from or through Shoshoni bands of the western plains; and it is believed that the Kutenai and Blackfoot copied the horse equipment from the Flathead and Shoshoni. This leaves only the Shoshoni, the first to have horses, from whom the Flathead might have copied.

In later years, when there came to be much contact between many tribes on the western plains, the Flathead were influenced by contact with eastern tribes, and also the latter by contact with western tribes.

It is claimed that owing to the abundance of game in the Flathead country before the introduction of the horse, a sufficiency of meat could be obtained by ordinary methods of hunting, such as the still hunt and the surround. Therefore there was no need for the employment of nets, corrals, and pounds for catching game, and these were not used. The Blackfoot, and some other tribes to the north and west, were known to employ some or all of these methods; but it is thought this must have been because game was scarcer in their countries, or harder to hunt. Even snares and deadfalls were very little used in capturing game. Deer fences and deer snares like those of the Thompson were not used. Driving or stampeding elk and buffalo over precipices, and possibly some other methods of driving, were in vogue; but it is not certain that these methods were also used before the advent of the horse.

Before horses were in use, buffaloes were surrounded in small numbers and shot; or the hunter crawled up to stragglers on the edges of the larger herds and shot them. Some were also killed from ambushes at watering places, and occasionally they were caught on slippery ice and when swimming rivers. Disguises were often used in approaching buffalo and other game.

When buffalo hunting was conducted on horseback the common method was for a party of mounted men to charge the herd in a line or in a half circle at a given signal, stampeding the animals, and following them up, shooting and stabbing them. In the later days of buffalo hunting, Salishan parties sometimes hunted within the boundaries of the Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, and Assiniboin tribes. When wars with the Blackfoot ceased, Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles parties often went to the north, crossing the present Blackfoot Reserve in Montana, sometimes passing Blackfoot parties in that part of the country, and hunted beyond them to the east and north, frequently crossing the Canadian line. It is uncertain how far Salishan parties went beyond their tribal boundaries to the east along the Missouri and Yellowstone, but it seems that the Lower Musselshell and Big Horn were about their limits, and they rarely or never went east of the mouths of these streams. To the south they went not infrequently as far as Wind River, Sweetwater and Green Rivers; but this was generally on visits to the Shoshoni, although they hunted all the way, going and returning.

In several parts of the Spokan country where there were extensive prairies the Indians surrounded game every fall. Elk, deer, and antelope were killed in this way. A large body of people, including many women and children, made a huge circle, and moved day by day toward a common center. At night they camped in the circle. Thus they moved toward one point a few miles every day. As the circle shortened there became less chance of game getting out and the camps came to be closer together. Any game seen near the edge of the circle, was, if possible, scared in by riders. Many mounted men rode to and fro between the camping parties in the circle, while others, chiefly women, advanced on horseback and on foot, carrying the baggage. In weak parts of the ring fires were lighted, especially at night, and sticks with burnt skin attached were erected here and there. At last, after a few days, or a week or two, according to the size of the ground surrounded, a large number of game animals congregated in the center. Places where game was most liable to break through were then guarded by women and children to scare them back, or sometimes by men in ambush to shoot. Then all the most active mounted men attacked the animals and killed many with arrows and spears. Those that broke away were chased and shot at as they fled. This method of hunting was practiced both before and after the introduction of horses, and it fell into disuse only after the introduction of firearms, when there came to be danger of shooting one another.

Sometimes, instead of a surround, driving was arranged on a great scale, the animals being driven over cliffs, where they were killed by the fall, or into coulées and defiles, where men lay in wait to shoot them. Sometimes drives were made in coulées with steep sides, the animals being driven from one end to the other, where they were met by hunters waiting for them, and between the two parties were nearly all killed.

FISHING.—Fishing was of much less importance to the Flathead tribes than hunting, with the exception possibly of the Spokan. Several kinds of small fish were plentiful in the rivers, creeks, and lakes. No doubt in early times, when the people were more sedentary, fishing was engaged in to a considerable extent by certain bands of the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, especially by the people living around Flathead Lake. It is said that long ago some of the Kalispel spent most of the fair season around Pend Oreille, Priest, and other lakes, hunting, fishing, and gathering roots and berries in the near-by mountains. When winter approached they returned to their regular winter camping places on the main river, where the snowfall was lighter and the climate milder.

Hooks and lines were used in fishing; but nets were little employed except perhaps on Flathead Lake and at a few other points. However, large nets were used a great deal at the mouth of the Little Spokane for catching various kinds of fish. They were stretched completely across the river, one net being set some distance upstream above the other. Dip nets were seldom or never used. According to Revais, "The dip net for catching salmon on rivers was much used along Columbia River, from the Thompson and Shuswap down to the mouth of the Wallawalla, and to near The Dalles, but it was little used by the tribes to the east of the Columbia. The Nez Percé and Wallawalla used them for catching salmon, but the Spokan did not use them."

In many places weirs and traps were employed. Traps were of two or three kinds, similar to the common fish traps of the Thompson.

Two kinds of spears were in use—the single-pointed gig, for spearing fish from the shore, and the three-pronged spear, for spearing from canoes and ice. No salmon were found in the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles, *Sᴇmtē'use*, and Flathead, and in only one small piece of the territory of the Kalispel. The Spokan, however, had some good salmon fisheries along Spokane River. Salmon did not run in the Pend Oreille River. In the salmon season, some Kalispel went down the river to near the canyon (probably Box Canyon), then across country to the head of Salmon River in British Columbia, which was the northeast corner of their tribal territory, and there fished salmon. The salmon at this place were generally spent and poor, and in some years there were not many. A few Kalispel joined the friendly Lake and Colville at their great salmon fishery about Kettle Falls; but most of the tribe procured dried salmon in trade from the Colville and Spokan, probably chiefly from the former. Some of the Flathead obtained dried salmon from the Lemhi Shoshoni. The Pend d'Oreilles, *Sᴇmtē'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'χe* had no chance to fish salmon with neighbors, and were seldom able to obtain much in trade.

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

CANOES.—The Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were noted as canoe people. They had an abundance of good bark in their countries and made many bark canoes. White-pine bark was chiefly used. Ribs were generally made of cedar and black-pine roots were used for sewing. The canoes were swift and light, and were of the same general shape and construction as the bark canoes of many other Salishan tribes and of the Kutenai. They differed, however, in having the bark at their ends cut off square and sewed together, instead of having long, sharp, rounded, snoutlike ends, like the canoes of all other tribes. This type, with cut-off "snouts" or shortened ends (fig. 34), was peculiar to the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and may have been adopted under the influence of the eastern bark canoe since the advent of the traders; for it is stated that Iroquois who settled among the Pend d'Oreilles, and others in the employment of the fur traders, sometimes made bark canoes of the eastern or Iroquois shape on Flathead Lake. However, I was unable to make sure of this point. As the "sturgeon-nose" (or snout-ended) canoe is the only type used by neighboring tribes, and is widely distributed over a large area, it would seem to be the older type of the two. The other tribes—the Spokan, *Sxmtē'use*, Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and Flathead—are said to have had no canoes long ago, only rafts of poles. It seems that tule rafts were used to a slight extent by the Spokan, and possibly by the others, but I was unable to make certain of this. In later times, probably with the introduction of the first iron, the Spokan began to make dugout canoes of poplar and other logs, while the Flathead adopted the bull boat of the plains area.

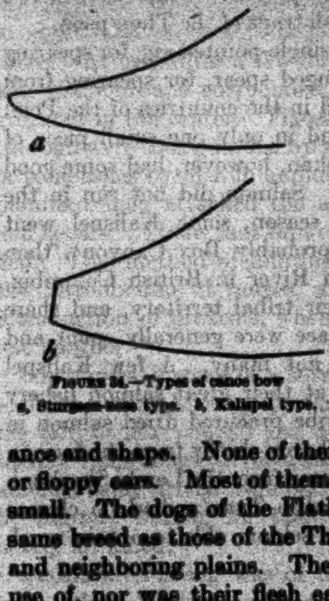

FIGURE 34.—Types of canoe bow
a, Sturgeon-nose type. *b*, Kalispel type.

DOGS.—Dogs were common to all the tribes. In color they were gray, yellow, and black of various shades, generally lighter underneath and in front, like coyotes and wolves. Some were somewhat mixed in color, such as yellow and white or brown and white. They were haired like coyotes and wolves, and resembled them in appearance and shape. None of them had curly, soft fur, and none had long or floppy ears. Most of them were of large size, but some were rather small. The dogs of the Flathead group appear to have been of the same breed as those of the Thompson and other tribes of the plateau and neighboring plains. The hair and skins of dogs were not made use of, nor was their flesh eaten. They were at one time used for hunting purposes, but to what extent is not clear.

HORSES.—The Flathead claim to have obtained horses first about 1600 or a little later from some Shoshoni tribe, who, according to them, were the earliest people to have had horses. All horses came first from the south and southeast, and spread north and northwest.

The Salish-*Tunā'xe* procured their first horses from the Shoshoni at about the same time as the Flathead obtained theirs, but for some reason they had more horses at an early date than the Flathead. Horses increased in numbers rather rapidly for some years after their first introduction, as there was little or no horse stealing, and horse flesh was seldom eaten, owing to the great abundance of buffalo and other large game. After horses had become plentiful Blackfoot and eastern tribes began to appear in the region bordering the Flathead, and then horse raiding became common, and continued until the last days of the buffalo hunting.

I obtained the following information from Revais and others concerning the introduction of horses into other tribes. "The Pend d'Oreilles and *Sɛmtɛ'use* obtained their first horses from the Flathead; and the Kalispel from the Pend d'Oreilles. The Coeur d'Alêne got theirs first from the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles; and the Spokan, according to some, theirs also from the Kalispel. The Colville almost certainly obtained their first horses also from the Kalispel." It seems, however, that horses spread simultaneously on both sides of the Rocky Mountains from the Shoshoni, and reached the Moses Columbia tribe only a little later than they reached the Pend d'Oreilles. Thus it is said that most of the Columbia tribes had horses before the Kutenai and Blackfoot. The Cayuse had a large number earlier than any other tribes near the Columbia. It seems that they received them directly from the Shoshoni. The Nez Percé are said to have obtained most of their first horses from the Cayuse and the Shoshoni. From the Cayuse, horses spread rapidly among the Shahaptian and Salishan tribes of Columbia River, and from there north. At the same time horses were reaching the Columbia from the east by way of Pend Oreille River. Horses spread among the Shoshoni from south to north, and it is supposed that they came originally from Mexico. The Shoshoni east of the Salish-*Tunā'xe* and Flathead may have had horses at even an earlier date than they. The Kutenai west of the mountains are said to have obtained their first horses from the Pend d'Oreilles; and those east of the mountains from the Salish-*Tunā'xe* and possibly also from the Shoshoni. Some think that the Blackfoot obtained their first horses in trade from the Salish-*Tunā'xe*, Flathead, and Shoshoni. Others claim that the Blackfoot procured all their first horses by stealing from the Shoshoni and Flathead. It seems that the Kutenai and Blackfoot were slower in adapting themselves to horses than some other tribes, and did not use them extensively for some time after their introduction. The Crow are said to have obtained horses from the Shoshoni and Flathead by stealing, and may have taken their first horses from the former. The Sioux are said to have received horses at a later date than the Crow and Blackfoot; and the Gros Ventres probably a little earlier than the Blackfoot. The Assiniboin and Cree obtained horses later than the Crow and Blackfoot.

The following story is told of the first horse seen by the Lower Kalispel. The first horse that reached the Lower Kalispel country was ridden by an Indian (some say a half-breed) who came from the

Flathead country by way of the Pend d'Oreilles. Some people saw the horse's tracks where it had passed over some sand. They called other people, and discussed what kind of animal had made the tracks, which were strange to them all. Some thought it might have been a horse, as they had heard about them. Other people lower down, near the river bank, saw the man approach on the horse at a lope. They observed that he was smoking, and that he seemed to be quite at his ease. They watched him enter the river and swim across on the horse. They gathered around and examined the animal with much curiosity. The Kalispel and Colville always called horses by the common term for dogs when they were first introduced. Later they adopted the name common to nearly all the Salish tribes for "horse," which is related to a common word for "dog."

TRANSPORTATION AND HORSE EQUIPMENT.—Before the advent of the horse overland transportation was entirely on people's backs. Tump straps of skin, generally passed over the head, were used for carrying loads. It is said that dogs were never employed as draught animals in sleds, toboggans, or travois. The majority of informants declared that dogs were never used for packing or hauling. One or two informants said dogs were occasionally and in some places used for carrying loads, but whether this was in very remote times or just previous to the introduction of the horse is quite uncertain. No toboggans were used, except that sometimes an animal's meat was lashed inside the skin and hauled by hand downhill over the snow, as among the Thompson. Some soft skin and rawhide bags and some baskets were used in the transportation of goods.

Horses were at once adopted for riding and packing. The common method of packing horses appears to have been with light packsaddles of wood, over which rawhide was shrunk. Two parflèches, filled so as to be about equal in weight and bulk, were suspended by loops over the "horns" or crosspieces of the saddle, one on each side, and secured by ropes passing over the load and underneath the horse. Sometimes some light flat or flexible material was placed crosswise on the top of the saddle and parflèches and secured by the same rope. All the horse equipment of packsaddles, riding saddles, cinches, ropes, bridles, whips; and methods of riding, packing, and horse management appear to have been received and adopted along with the horse from the Shoshoni, and were passed on from the Flathead to all the other Salishan tribes to the west and north. Certain kinds of riding saddles were also sometimes used as packsaddles. Most men's saddles were of the "pad" type[1] similar to those of the Thompson, Shoshoni, and surrounding tribes. Usually the four corners of the saddle were covered with solid quill or bead work, or otherwise ornamented. Other saddles were also of the same types as those used by the Thompson and neighboring tribes. Two kinds, chiefly used by men, in some tribes also by women, were somewhat like pack saddles, having wooden sides and "horns" of antler or wood.

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[1] I, p. 13, fig. 8.

Horns were of two kinds—the forked and the curved or bow type. They were the same as specimens described by Wissler.[2] Saddles with high "horns," most of them with a spike in front, were used almost altogether by women.[3] Saddles of this kind were generally ornamented with long flaps of skin richly embroidered which hung from both pommels, or sometimes just from the back one.[4] Cinches were of hide and woven horse hair. Stirrups were of one or two pieces of bent wood, and sometimes of mountain sheep horn. Hide was shrunk over the wooden ones, which were of several slightly different shapes. For a common kind used by the Kalispel see Figure 35.[5] Cruppers were used on many saddles; those on women's saddles were wide and highly ornamented.[6] Beaded pendants[7] (fig. 36) were also much used on the stirrups of women's saddles by the Flathead,

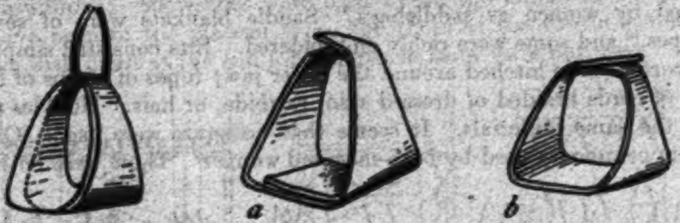

FIGURE 33.—Stirrups. a, Made of two pieces; b, made of one piece

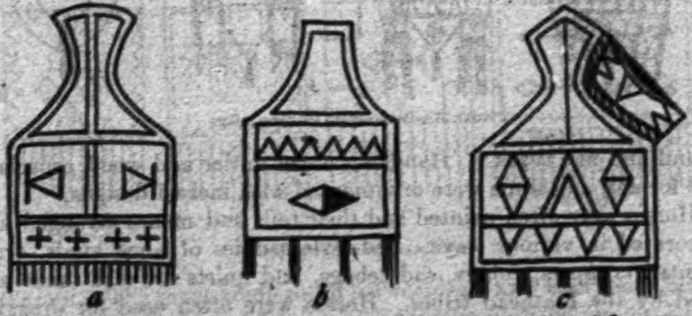

FIGURE 34.—Beaded flaps for stirrups for women's saddles. a, Common type. b, Less common type. c, With beaded foot rest

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[2] For the first type see *l*, p. 9, fig. 4 and perhaps *l*, p. 34, fig. 28; for the second, *l*, p. 10, fig. 5.

[3] *l*, p. 6, figs. 2; p. 21, fig. 17.

[4] *l*, p 6. fig. 2.

[5] *l*, p. 36, figs. 11, 12; the former also used by women.

[6] *l*, pp. 18, 19, figs. 14, 15.

[7] *l*, p. 26, fig. 22.

Pend d'Oreilles, and perhaps others. Various kinds of wide, highly ornamented collars, somewhat similar to the wide cruppers, were used on horses ridden by women. (Fig. 37.) Breast pendants of various kinds, ornamental headbands, and even eagle-feather bonnets were also used on horses by men and women. Saddlebags of different kinds were used chiefly by women.[8] Most of them were beaded. (Fig. 38.) Square rawhide bags with long fringes were also much used by women as saddlebags.[9] Saddle blankets were of several types,[10] and some were richly embroidered. Bits consisted simply of a cord of hide hitched around the lower jaw; ropes of straps of hide, or of cords braided of dressed skin, rawhide, or hair. Hobbles were of the same materials. It seems that no spurs were used. Quirts were commonly used by both men and women. There were both the round and flat types.[11] Handles were of antler and wood, especially the former, and some were ornamented with incised designs.

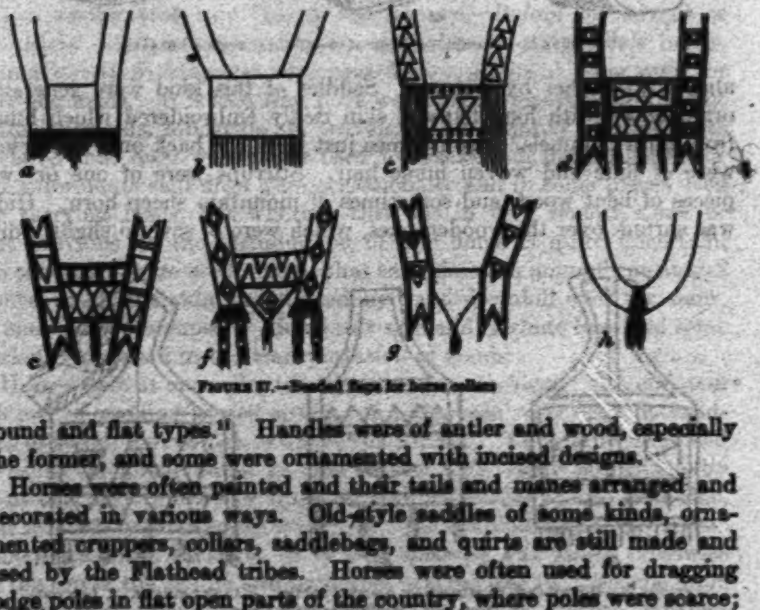

FIGURE 37.—Beaded flaps for horse collars

Horses were often painted and their tails and manes arranged and decorated in various ways. Old-style saddles of some kinds, ornamented cruppers, collars, saddlebags, and quirts are still made and used by the Flathead tribes. Horses were often used for dragging lodge poles in flat open parts of the country, where poles were scarce; but the horse travois was seldom used, even when hunting buffalo on the plains. All the western tribes, including the Shoshoni, carried loads on horseback. The travois was only suited for flat and open country, while packing was feasible everywhere, and, moreover, safer and more expeditious. A sack to be folded and laced was in use before the advent of the horse for carrying purposes; but the real parflèche, fitted with loops and supporting stick for packing on horses, came into vogue with the introduction of horses.

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[8] I, p. 22, fig. 13.

[9] See Thompson, p. 260, a, fig. 181.

[10] See for instance, I, p. 22, fig. 12.

[11] I, p. 26, figs. 22, 24.

Many young men rode bare back or on a saddlecloth fastened down with a cord or cinch. Most people could mount about equally well from either side, but the right side of the horse was the favorite side for mounting, as among all tribes.

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and appear to have been of the plateau type, like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. Sticks with mesh at the end for walking in snow were not used.

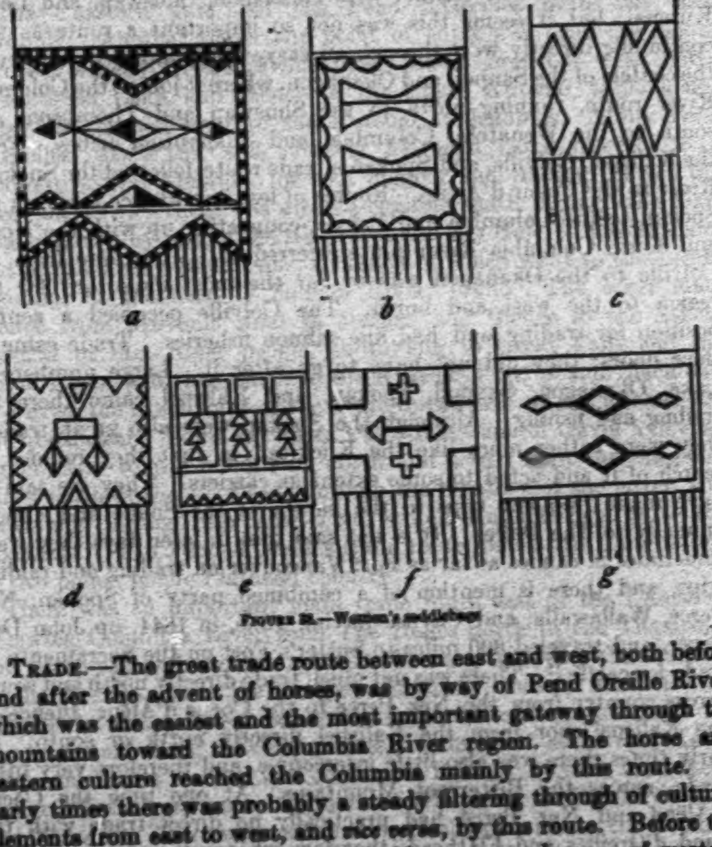

FIGURE 22.—Women's saddlebags

TRADE.—The great trade route between east and west, both before and after the advent of horses, was by way of Pend Oreille River, which was the easiest and the most important gateway through the mountains toward the Columbia River region. The horse and eastern culture reached the Columbia mainly by this route. In early times there was probably a steady filtering through of cultural elements from east to west, and *vice versa*, by this route. Before the advent of the horse there was probably a preponderance of western influence following this route eastward; while after the introduction of horses and the taking up of buffalo hunting by many of the plateau tribes, conditions were reversed, and a strong eastern influence set westward across the plateaus. What may be called the "western gate" of the Pend Oreille route was at a point on the river around

Newport and Usk, in the territory of the Lower Kalispel. Here easy travel by land and water following the river stopped, and trails led directly west to the centers of the Spokan and Colville through easy country. Travel did not follow the Pend Oreille River below this point to its mouth, owing to the northward turn in the river and the roughness of the water and the surrounding country lower down. The main trade route from this point was to Colville, an important trading point and distributing center, only a short distance away. From here one route went up the Columbia to the Lakes, where there were points of contact with Okanagon, Shuswap, and Lower Kutenai; but it seems this was not so important a route as that continuing directly west through an easy, well-populated country to the centers of the Sanpoil and Okanagon, where it joined the Columbia River route, running north to the Shuswap and Thompson, and south to the Wenatchi, Columbia, and Shahaptian tribes. From the Kalispel, Colville, and Spokan a trade route followed the Spokane River to the Coeur d'Alêne. Routes of less importance led from the Spokan to the Columbia and Paloos, connecting up with the North and South Columbia River route referred to. The route from the Colville to the Okanagon was by far the most important for the region to the west and north. The Colville occupied a central position for trading and had fine salmon fisheries. Trade came to their doors; they did not have to go after it. Large numbers of Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel came there for trading and fishing. Although the Spokan were also great traders they were rather more like the Klickitat, in that they roamed in search of it and acted to some extent as carriers. They are said to have made frequent trips to the mouth of the Snake and almost annually to The Dalles. It is also said that in later days they went sometimes in canoes as far as Fort Vancouver on trading and raiding trips, and there is mention of a combined party of Spokan, Nez Percé, Wallawalla, and Cayuse having gone, in 1844, up John Day River, and traveled 800 miles to Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento to trade for cattle.[12] There was not much trade directly north and south across country from the Nez Percé to the Coeur d'Alêne, thence to the Kalispel, nor from the Kalispel directly north or south. In early times there was also little intercourse, and therefore very little trade, across the Bitterroot Mountains. At one time the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé had practically no direct trade with the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, therefore whatever eastern or plains influence reached the Nez Percé before the days of their taking up buffalo hunting must have come by the circuitous route by way of the Pend d'Oreilles, and passed on by Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, and Columbia, or by the southern route via the Cayuse; for Indian informants say there was little direct trade and intercourse between the Nez Percé and Shoshoni for a long period of time, owing to continued wars. However, war is simply a different kind of contact, and may not have stopped the spread of cultural influences. According to my informants, the Nez Percé, before they began to go to the plains for buffalo hunting, had practically the same material culture as the Coeur d'Alêne and the adjoining Columbia River tribes. They differed a great deal from the Flathead group, who in most respects were more like the Shoshoni and Kutenai.

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[12] E. E. Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon (Chicago, McClurg, 1900).

The "eastern gate" of the Pend d'Oreilles route was near Missoula. Another important point of entry was near the mouth of the Flathead River. From these places branches went north to Flathead Lake, and thence to the Upper Kutenai, while a less important branch went to the Kutenai at Jennings. Many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmiē'usc,* and possibly Flathead came directly to a randezvous near Missoula for root digging and trading. From the Missoula district there was a route running south through the Flathead country, by way of the Bitterroot and Big Hole, to the Shoshoni east of the Rocky Mountains, a branch of which went to the Lemhi Shoshoni at the head of Salmon River, Idaho. The other main branch from Missoula went to Helena, and thence to the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e* or Sun River people, continuing to Great Falls and the Teton River, and then north to the Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e* and Blackfoot. However, the exact lines of the trade routes east of the Rockies are not quite clear. Some say there was a main line of travel following rather close to the mountains north and south from the Shoshoni tribes south of the Flathead, through the territory of the latter, and continuing through the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e* and Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e* to the Blackfoot. The Pend d'Oreilles trade route joined this route at one or two points in the Flathead country.

There was an important main trade route east of the Cascades, following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson and Shuswap, and another route in the east, following the foothills of the Rockies, from the southern Shoshoni country north to the Blackfoot tribes. These two routes were crossed at right angles by the important Pend d'Oreilles route running east and west. Long ago considerable trading was done near Butte. At that time there was very little trade across the mountains between the Pend d'Oreilles and *Tunā'x̣e*. There was considerable intercourse across the Rockies between the Upper Kutenai and the Kutenai-*Tunā'x̣e*, probably by the Crow's Nest Pass in British Columbia. This route was of minor importance and affected the Kutenai only. According to some informants the Salish-*Tunā'x̣e* were the chief traders east of the Rockies. Most of the trade from the west of the Rockies, and that from the Shoshoni and Flathead south of them, passed through their hands en route to the Kutenai and Blackfoot. Another trading place was at a point about Great Falls. Nothing seems to be known as to trade down the Missouri from this point, nor whether there was any all-Shoshoni trade route running east of the Flathead country to the Blackfoot. In those days there are said to have been no tribes near by to the east with which the Flathead and Shoshoni traded, the inference being that there was a strip of plains country practically uninhabited to the east of the Shoshoni. It is said that trading parties of Flathead visited the Yellowstone, Lemhi, and other Shoshoni, and that Shoshoni parties visited them. Also trading parties of Salish-*Tuna'χ̣e* visited the Flathead, Shoshoni, Kutenai-*Tuna'χ̣e*, and even the Blackfoot. As the time of the trading days before the advent of the horse is so remote, little is now remembered regarding articles of trade. Shells of various kinds for ornamentation of the person and clothing, etc., came from the Far West and were traded to the Plains tribes. Stone and pipes of semitransparent green soapstone, eagle-tail feathers, mountain-sheep horn, and horn spoons, ladles, and bowls, dressed moose skin, plateau-made bows of wood and horn, coiled basketry, woven bags of the Nez Percé or Columbia River type, a little salmon oil, and salmon pemmican, and in later days horses, also came from the plateaus and were traded eastward. Horses were first traded from south to north and east on the plains, also west from the Flathead by way of the Pend Oreille River route, but when all the western tribes took up buffalo hunting horses ceased to be traded westward and went east and north. Goods that passed from east to west were chiefly catlinite and pipes of the same material, certain articles of clothing and ornaments, including polished buffalo-bone beads, horses and occasionally saddles, buffalo skins and buffalo robes, some dressed moose skin, occasionally buffalo horns and buffalo pemmican. The Flathead claim that long ago they sold many water-tight coiled-basket kettles to the Blackfoot, also shells, horses, pipes, pipestone, and probably bows and saddles. The Salish-*Tuna'χ̣e* carried these to the Blackfoot. The Blackfoot also obtained horses from the Shoshoni, and flat wallets of Shahaptian and Salishan make reached them through the Flathead. As already stated, the Lemhi Shoshoni traded dried salmon to the Big Hole and other Flathead and the Colville sold salmon to the Kalispel. Objects common to all the tribes were also articles of trade, such as robes, clothes, dressed skins, paint, pipes, and tools. In later days, after members of the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Columbia, Nez Percé, and other western tribes began to visit the plains for buffalo hunting, trading was carried on directly between them and eastern tribes whenever parties met who were friendly. About 1810 a party of Flathead and Shoshoni were met in the Big Horn Range on their way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washington Irving, Astoria, chap. 29.)

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission) and at Thompson Falls. The Lower Kalispel and many of the Spokan traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokan country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla, and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days along this route.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under "Hunting." Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of knives, clubs, and tomahawks. Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were employed. Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but possibly not with all shields. Shields and shield covers had painted designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. Some of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot.

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned. All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. They also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they related their war exploits.

Wars.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best of terms. They had no wars with other Salishan tribes, nor with the Nez Percé and Kutenai. Once long ago a war party of Snake attacked the Flathead in Bitterroot Valley, but they were driven off with considerable loss and never came back.

The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel also had very few wars long ago. Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once the Kalispel helped the Spokan in a war with the latter. The Kalispel sometimes attacked the Kutenai and once killed a large number of Lower Kutenai, but it seems that the Pend d'Oreilles were always friendly with all the Kutenai. The Spokan very rarely had wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, Kutenai, and Nez Percé; but at one time they warred a great deal with the Yakima-speaking people, and raided down the Columbia to The Dalles, and even below. Spokan parties occasionally crossed the Wenatchi country and raided on the coast, and once or twice war parties of Spokan went as far as the Willamette. The Yakima-speaking people sometimes named the Spokan "robbers" because of their raids against them. There were no wars with the Colville or any tribes of the Okanagon group, nor with the Shuswap and Thompson to the north, nor with the Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*. In very ancient times there were no wars with the Blackfoot. Wars with the latter and with the advancing eastern tribes began about 1700 or 1750 and continued almost constantly until near the end of buffalo hunting (1880–1884). For over 100 years the western tribes—the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, Columbia, Kutenai, Nez Percé, Bannock, and Shoshoni, including the Ute—were arrayed in war on the plains against the Blackfoot, Crow, and all the eastern tribes, whom they considered intruders in the western buffalo country. They did not fight the Kiowa and Comanche, however. The Flathead knew of these tribes, but came very little in contact with them. The Comanche were considered as closely related to the Shoshoni, whose language they speak; while the Kiowa were considered somewhat similar to the Bannock. It is also said that the Comanche and Kiowa belonged to the western alignment against the eastern tribes. Besides the great war alignment of tribes (east *versus* west), there was much war among the eastern tribes themselves. Thus Assiniboin, Sioux, and Crow are said to have always fought against the Blackfoot tribes; the Crow against the Sioux, the Cheyenne against both, and so on. Until after the introduction of the horse there were hardly any alliances for war among the western tribes (Flathead, Shoshoni, etc.), each tribe, and sometimes each band, acting independently. Had they been better organized or more united, the Blackfoot and Crow would probably not have been able to encroach upon them. In early times the Spokan and Kalispel were sometimes in alliance, and again the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but at other times they were not.

Wars with the Bannock.—The Flathead tribes were almost always friendly with the Bannock, but they had misunderstandings two or three times, which led to bloodshed. Once the Crow stole some horses from the Pend d'Oreilles who believed that the Bannock were the guilty party. Therefore they attacked a Bannock camp. This led to a short war and several sharp encounters. Two chiefs arranged a satisfactory peace, and the tribes became friends again, and ever afterwards remained friendly.

The following story may refer to this incident: A large party of allied Salish were camped a little north or northeast of Fort Hall. A large party of Bannock came along and visited the camp for trading of horses, and danced with the Salish. When the trading, dancing, and games were finished, the Bannock moved to a place about 65 miles away. Two days afterwards a horse-raiding party of Crow stole many horses from the Salish. The latter felt sure that some Bannock had returned and stolen the horses. They were incensed at what they considered a treacherous act, as the Bannock only two days before had been entertained by the Salish, had traded and danced with them, and had parted the best of friends. They dispatched a party of about 200 warriors against the Bannock. This war party lay in ambush, and in the early morning, when the people were in the act of turning out their horses to graze, the Salish rushed the camp and captured about 300 horses. The Bannock were taken unawares, but they all ran out to fight, and were surprised to find that their enemies were the Salish from whom they had lately parted as friends. Before the mistake was discovered six Bannock were killed, including their chief, Louis, who had been reared among the Flathead. He was a fast friend of the latter, and spoke their language quite as well as his own. A number of Bannock were wounded; but none of the Salish were killed, and very few were hurt. Afterwards it was proved that the Crow had stolen the Salish horses and that the Bannock were entirely innocent. Peace was at once arranged between the tribes, the Bannock horses were returned, and presents were exchanged.

Wars with the Blackfoot.[1]—There were many wars with the Blackfoot, probably many more than with any other tribe. Blackfoot war parties were often large, numbering from 200 to 400 men. Most of the fights were with the Piegan, as they appeared to be the most numerous and aggressive; but sometimes Blackfoot proper and Blood were engaged. As a rule, the Piegan parties were alone, but sometimes they were reenforced by Blackfoot and Blood. Occasionally the three tribes were combined, either purposely or by accident

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[1] See pp. 126, 316 et seq.

(meeting one another on the buffalo grounds); and in some instances very large parties were encountered, composed of Blackfoot, Blood, Piegan, Sarsi, and Gros Ventres. Once a fight occurred in the Big Hole Valley between Flathead and Blackfoot at a time when war parties of the latter were constantly appearing in the Flathead country. A party of Flathead numbering about 150 and including many women and children, under Chief Big-Eagle, had separated from the main body of the Flathead, and were traveling south. As they came over the top of a ridge they discovered a Blackfoot party of about 200 warriors. When they saw each other the Flathead drew up on the side of the hill and the Blackfoot did the same at the bottom. The former were all mounted, and the latter were all on foot. Some of the Flathead wanted to hold no parley with them. They thought it best to leave and at once send some men out to inform the main body of the Flathead, with the object of joining forces and cutting off the Blackfoot. Chief Big-Eagle was against this and said he would go and make peace with them. He took with him Bear-Track, who was subchief. They dismounted and went to the Blackfoot on foot. The latter formed a circle, with their chiefs in the middle, and the two Flathead chiefs entered the circle to smoke. Big-Eagle arranged his pipe and the Blackfoot chiefs agreed to smoke it and make peace. While the chiefs were smoking a Blackfoot Indian who was standing behind Big-Eagle pulled his bow out of his quiver without Big-Eagle or his companion noticing it. When they came back to their people some of the latter said to Big-Eagle, "You have no bow." The bow was a specially fine one, and Big-Eagle said he would go back and get it. Some of the people tried to dissuade him, fearing that the Blackfoot might kill him; but he said, "No, we have just finished smoking and have made peace." He walked back unarmed along with Bear-Track and demanded the return of his bow. The Blackfoot told them, "Asking for your bow is equivalent to declaring war on us. Our peace-smoke is now broken." They at once began shooting at them. Big-Eagle fell, pierced with many arrows, and Bear-Track escaped wounded. A fight ensued, the mounted Flathead circling around the Blackfoot, but the latter drove them off, and the Flathead had to retreat. Several were wounded on both sides. The Blackfoot did not manage to capture any horses or scalps, and soon gave up following the mounted Flathead, who now crossed country and overtook the main body of their tribe. As soon as the latter heard the news they held a short war dance. A large force of Flathead warriors returned to look for the Blackfoot; but the Flathead were unable to locate them. This happened toward the end of the eighteenth century.

Skate'ḱo, the father of the late chief Moses of the Columbia, was a noted war chief. He was a tall man, 6 feet or over, and had many war trophies, for he had fought in many battles. He went annually to the plains for buffalo hunting, and had been in fights with almost all the plains tribes. He was able to talk or understand all the interior Salishan languages, Nez Percé, Yakima, Wallawalla, Shoshoni, and Bannock. He could also converse quite freely in Blackfoot, Crow, and several eastern tongues. On his last trip to the plains he was with a united party of Columbia, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead, hunting buffalo near Fort Benton, when they were attacked by a large party composed of Piegan, Blackfoot proper, and possibly others. Although the Salish party was large the Blackfoot party outnumbered it considerably. The Salish held their ground for two days, always beating the Blackfoot off. On the third day the Blackfoot made a determined attack on the camp with full force and hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The Salish repulsed them with heavy loss, and, suddenly assuming the offensive, turned the Blackfoot repulse into a rout. They followed the retreating enemy, killing many. *Skate'ḱo*, although an elderly man, was always in the van of battle, and led the pursuit. Near the end of the fight, just when the Salish were about to quit the pursuit, he was shot. His people buried him on the battlefield and rode all their horses over his grave. He was about 60 years old when killed. This happened about 1840.

The year the first priest came to the Flathead (about 1839 or 1840) a Blackfoot party surprised the horse guard at the big Flathead camp in the Bitterroot Valley and drove away a large number of horses. Very few men on either side were hurt. The Blackfoot did not attempt to attack the camp, as they were not strong enough, but they got away with most of the horses they captured.

A Pend d'Oreilles party was traveling toward a rendezvous in the Flathead country, where they were to join a Flathead party for buffalo hunting. They camped at Finlay Creek. Early the following morning, on a little divide toward Evaro, they met a large Blackfoot party coming over a hill. The two parties exchanged shots, and then the Pend d'Oreilles fell back into the Jocko Valley, as the enemy was much superior in numbers. The Blackfoot surrounded them near where the Indians now hold their dances on the reservation, near the agency at Jocko. The parties kept shooting at each other at long range, the ground being pretty open and level. Some of the Pend d'Oreilles escaped on swift horses to advise the parties who were following behind, and who had camped the previous night not far away, while others rode to the trading post at Thompson Falls to obtain ammunition. The Blackfoot became afraid that they themselves might be surrounded, and gave up the fight, although most of them had guns, while the Pend d'Oreilles party had only five guns. This was at a time when guns were still scarce among the western Indians. In the fight two Pend d'Oreilles and one Blackfoot were killed and some on both sides were wounded. The Blackfoot were pursued but made good their escape.

Another fight in the Pend d'Oreilles country took place about the same time. A Kanaka called *Gulia'ka* and another Kanaka were carrying goods on horses from the post at Thompson Falls to trade with the Flathead, who had formed a large camp in the Bitterroot Valley. Several Pend d'Oreilles were driving the horses and a few Flathead returning to their own country accompanied them. As they were passing near Evaro a Blackfoot war party watching from a hill sighted them. This party was in charge of a famous Blackfoot war chief named *Sata'*. The Blackfoot descended and attacked the party, killing both the Kanaka. All the Indians escaped and they managed to save all the pack horses and packs. The Blackfoot got nothing except the scalps of the Kanaka, and beat a hasty retreat. The Pend d'Oreilles called reenforcements, followed the Blackfoot, who were all on foot, and overtook them in the mountains. They killed three of them, while they themselves suffered no loss. The rest of the Blackfoot retreated into a rough piece of country and made their escape through the woods in the night. After this, McDonald, who was in charge of the Hudson Bay Co.'s post at Thompson Falls, offered $200 for *Sata''s* scalp. At one time there were five Kanaka, cooks and laborers, at the Thompson Falls post. The place where the Kanaka were killed is now called "*Kulia'*," from the name of the Kanaka *Gulia'ka.*

Once a war party of Blackfoot came to Sand Point in the Kalispel country and attacked a camp of people there. The Kalispel drove them off and killed three or four of them without loss to themselves. This was about the farthest west any Blackfoot parties ever came. Another time they came near to this place, but being discovered, retreated without fighting. This happened about 1820.

Once a rather large party of Salish, mostly Flathead, were camped on the Musselshell River. A Blackfoot war party numbering about 130 men, all on foot, discovered their camp. At night they crept up within gun range and erected six small semicircular breastworks of stones at different places commanding the camp. They probably thought they would give the Salish the impression that they were being attacked by a superior party, or that by a heavy gunfire they would make them evacuate their camp. At this time the Salish had very few guns. In the early morning the Blackfoot began firing into the Salish camp, and a battle ensued. The Salish believed the Blackfoot were inferior in numbers, and rather than stay in camp and be shot at, they prepared to attack the enemy. The latter were divided

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into six parties at the different breastworks. The Salish concentrated all their men, and riding out into the open rapidly rushed one breastwork after another, attacking from the sides and driving the Blackfoot out on the open plain. In the onslaught their chief, a Piegan, and several others were killed. The Blackfoot managed to get together and rally. The mounted Salish kept them surrounded and a long-range fight ensued. The Blackfoot were much superior to the Salish in guns, but they ran short of ammunition. They moved along slowly all day, the Salish having them surrounded and fighting them all the time. During the night they broke up into several parties and tried to escape; but in the morning the mounted Salish caught up with the largest party, attacked it and killed all the members. Another detached party when overtaken and surrounded began to sing a death chant. The Salish also rode through this party and killed them all. By nightfall all the Blackfoot had been disposed of except a few of those who had escaped the night before and had not been located or overtaken. They may have numbered 15 or 20 men. It is said that a Pend d'Oreilles party came on them later in the country farther north and killed nearly all of them. Probably not one of this party of Blackfoot ever reached their country. During the first night, when the Blackfoot were preparing to attack the Salish camp, they had managed in the dark to steal two very valuable horses. One was a pinto and the other a brown. When next morning the Blackfoot were driven out of their breastworks two unarmed lads mounted these horses and tried to escape with them. A Flathead on a very fleet horse chased them, and after riding about 6 miles killed them both and recovered the horses. During the two days' fighting the Salish lost very few men and had very few horses shot, but a number of horses and men were wounded. The Flathead who led the attack on the breastworks was killed by a ball and another Flathead (a subchief?) was shot and killed by a wounded Blackfoot when only about 2 feet away. A Flathead near by struck the latter down and scalped him at once.

Wars with the Cheyenne.—Sometimes the Cheyenne and Salish fought. Once they had a war in which they attacked each other many times and raided each other for horses, but no decisive battle was fought. A number of horses were stolen on both sides, but very few people were killed in either tribe. The most severe engagement was fought a short distance north of the Little Horn; neither side gained an advantage over the other. At the time of the Custer battle, or shortly afterwards, the Cheyenne deserted the country in which they had made their headquarters and moved temporarily into the Crow country, while the Crow moved north to the confines of the Piegan and stayed there for a time. It is said that this migration was due to fear of the Sioux.

Wars with the Assiniboin.—About 1865 a Flathead party of considerable strength was camped at Three Buttes, near the confines of the Gros Ventres northeast of the present Blackfoot Reserve in Montana. War was on with the Assiniboin at that time and a war party of them attacked the camp at night. They managed to open a great number of the lodge doors and shot inside, killing in all four men and wounding the Flathead chief and some other people. A woman ran out of one of the tents with a pistol in her hand. The Assiniboin did not kill her as they were waiting for the men to come out. She shot the Assiniboin chief dead and escaped in the dark. The Assiniboin were driven off and at daybreak the Flathead started in pursuit. When they overtook them a running fight ensued and many of the Assiniboin were killed and wounded.

About the same time a large party of Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Upper Kutenai, and some Pend d'Oreilles were hunting buffalo in the Sweet Grass Hills on the confines of the Piegan country. A large party of Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were not far away in another direction. Two or more years before this the Assiniboin had boasted that they would drive all the Salish and Kutenai out of the buffalo country. A large war party of Assiniboin came for the purpose of attacking the camp, but when they saw the great strength of the Salish-Kutenai, they immediately made off without risking a battle. The Salish camp had 225 lodges.

Wars with the Sioux.—About 1860 a fight took place with Sioux in the country between what is now the Crow Agency and Fort Benton. A Sioux party of 15 or more had gone to steal horses from the Crow, and the latter had killed them all except one man, who escaped. Some other Crow had also killed some Sioux, who were now bent on revenge. A party of 75 or 80 Flathead warriors were traveling near this place, trying to locate buffalo. They had not heard of the recent fighting between the Crow and the Sioux and did not know that the latter were near. They saw a great many tracks which they concluded were made by River Crow, but they were tracks of Mountain Crow fleeing from the Sioux. The Flathead camped for the night. In the early morning they saw several strangers stealing some of their horses and the young men gave chase. These strangers were Sioux, who had discovered the Flathead camp. After a run of about 15 miles the Flathead had killed four of the Sioux and recovered most of their horses, but this had brought them in front of the Sioux camp. The Sioux all came out and the Flathead ran back. The Sioux, being on fresh mounts, caught up with several of the Flathead and killed them. Probably they would have caught up with all of them if their horses had been good, but Sioux horses were generally not as good as Flathead horses. A large number of Sioux took part in the pursuit, and when they reached the Flathead camp they surrounded it.

More and more Sioux came, and when they had all arrived they attacked the camp. There were about 1,500 of them.[3] The Flathead were in a very strong position and were all well armed. The intention of the Sioux was to kill off as many of the Flathead as possible by gunfire and then rush the camp in a sudden charge and kill the survivors. The Flathead fought desperately all day. They lost 18 men killed and the Sioux had 24 killed, including 2 chiefs. At sundown the Sioux made a sign to the Flathead, "We shall kill you all to-morrow." The main body of the Sioux retired to their camp, leaving a sufficiently large number to keep the Flathead surrounded during the night. They knew of no way the Flathead could escape, and the number of men left to guard them far exceeded the number of Flathead. They intended to renew the attack in the morning, and, after some shooting, they were going to charge on the camp and expected they could easily kill the surviving Flathead. The latter, however, knew the country much better than the Sioux, and escaped during the night with their horses and wounded. Early in the morning the Sioux followed them, but could not catch up. When they reached a point near Helena they found that the Flathead had already crossed the river. On the way the Sioux missed a camp of 10 lodges of Flathead on the same side of the river as themselves, a little below Helena, and a second camp in another place near there. They never saw these camps, and the people in them did not know the Sioux were near. Chief *Arli'* was chief of the Flathead party who were out there buffalo hunting at the time of this fight.

Wars with the whites.—With the exception of the Spokan and a few Kalispel who joined them, the Flathead tribes had no wars with the whites. The Columbia River wars broke out in 1847 with the massacre of Doctor Whitman and others by the Cayuse. The Indians throughout the region were dissatisfied with the settlement of Americans in their country without treaty with them and recognition of their rights as owners of their respective countries. Some were also impressed with a belief that the Americans intended to destroy them and take possession of their countries, and with this object had already made "medicine" against them in the form of epidemics, such as smallpox and measles, which had killed many of them. If the whites settled among them they would make "medicine" perhaps still more effectively; and, besides, they would interfere with their living by killing off the game and fish, and perhaps they would blight the roots and berries. They knew the fur traders had not tried to hurt them or seize their lands, or interfere with their liberties; but the Americans seemed different, and they looked on them with suspicion and distrust. The Cayuse fought the whites for two or three years, while all the other tribes remained neutral, because they were of divided opinion. There was a faction in every tribe in favor of the whites and a faction against them. In 1849 or 1850 (?) the Umatilla sided with the whites and defeated the Cayuse in a severe engagement near the head of John Day River (?), which practically ended the Cayuse war. According to Revais, 30 tents of Cayuse did not engage in the war and remained neutral. Feelings of dissatisfaction, distrust, and resentment against the whites continued among many of the Indians until 1855, when Governor Stevens made treaties with most of the tribes in the Columbia area all the way from the coast to the Blackfoot. However, some leading chiefs and large sections of various tribes were not satisfied. They claim that the treaties had been made at too short notice for proper deliberation, and without their full consent.

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[3] It is not clear whether this was the estimated number of warriors or of people in the Sioux camp. The number of both was generally estimated by the number of tents counted.

The same year the Yakima-Wallawalla war broke out. These tribes did not unite, but went to war independently in their respective countries, and during the war they acted and fought in two independent groups—Yakima, Klickitat, and Paloos in one, and Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse in the other. Many settlers were killed in the early part of the war, especially by the Klickitat. During 1855–56 several sharp engagements were fought between white troops and the Indians of both groups, resulting finally in the subjection of the allied Wallawalla. In this war also a number of Cayuse remained neutral, probably the same ones who were neutral in the Cayuse war; and during hostilities they moved to the Nez Percé. The Yakima, under their chief *Kamiakan*, who, according to some, was part Salish in blood, continued to fight until 1858. In these wars several of the Nez Percé bands and the Wasco furnished many scouts and guides to the soldiers. According to Revais, at the same time the Wallawalla were fighting (about 1856 ?), the Rogue River war broke out. The Indians there felt resentment against the whites, claiming that individual whites at various times had abused and ill-treated them, and the whites were becoming more and more insolent to them. Actual hostilities began in the following manner: Æneas, an Iroquois, at one time an employee of the Hudson Bay Co., had married a Rogue River woman and settled among the tribe. His wife had a child, and some time afterwards the tribe elected him as chief. At this time there were white settlements and stores about every 10 miles along the river, from the head to the sea. Æneas was employed by the whites as mail carrier along the river. On one of his trips a white man shot at him four times and wounded him in the hand. When he arrived home he told the Indians of the affair and advised them to attack the whites. That night the Indians went to war and began to raid all the settlements along the river. Æneas took possession of all the cash part of the loot and buried it in several places. Many whites were killed. At last the Indians were surrounded and surrendered, but Æneas escaped to friends in the Willamette Valley. His friends told him he would be hanged if caught, and advised him to go north to Fort Colville, where he would be safe, and where he had many friends; but he was anxious to see his wife and child, who had gone to Grande Ronde; so he went there. Shortly after his arrival some Indians reported his presence. He was captured and sentenced to be hung. He sent for his brother, who lived in Willamette, to come and see him; and he told him where he had buried all the money. After his execution his brother went to find the money, but on the way he shot and killed a white man and had to flee. He was caught and hung also. No one then knew where Æneas had hidden the money, and probably it is in the ground to this day. All the Salish tribes remained neutral during these wars. They refused to attack the whites, nor did they give the latter any active aid against the hostile tribes. However, they were gradually becoming more dissatisfied. They had made treaties or agreements in 1855 with Governor Stevens to relinquish parts of their lands; but they claimed that the matter had not been properly settled, and they objected to the land surveys, the building of wagon roads, and to new settlements, as long as their claims were not adjusted. A rush of white gold miners to Colville in 1856 (?) and later, without any regard to Indian authority and rights in the country, made the Spokan and others resentful. They had not yet received any payments for their surrendered lands and no reserves had been set apart for them. They believed that the whites were playing them false and that the treaties and agreements meant nothing. By 1858 they had become strongly of the opinion that the whites did not intend to keep their promises. In that year the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne made an alliance for defense and war. They were to act on the defensive and keep the whites out of their countries until such time as the Government should settle everything fairly with them. They said they must have their reserves and payments before any more whites could enter their country. The Government must not break faith with them. They claimed the right to defend and rule their own countries. The territories of other tribes they would not enter as they had no rights or jurisdiction there. They would not attempt to molest or drive out the whites who were living in the territories of neighboring tribes. That was a matter for the other tribes to decide. The fighting forces of the combined Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been about 1,000 men. This probably included about 100 men of other tribes who were with them—a few Yakima and Paloos refugees, about twoscore Kalispel, most of them related to the Spokan by descent or marriage, and a few others from various Salish tribes, Colville, Okanagon, Pend d'Oreilles, and two or three from the Thompson country. When Colonel Steptoe's force entered their country in the spring of 1858 the Indians met them and asked them what they had come there for. They answered that they were going to Colville and had no hostile intentions. The Indians said to them, "Why, then, are you armed, and why have you cannon with you? Your intentions must be hostile, and you had better go back out of our country." Instead of at once returning, the command camped and assumed an attitude of war. Next morning, when there were no signs of their leaving, the Indians attacked them and drove them out. A running fight ensued to near Steptoe Butte, where the soldiers made a stand at evening. The Indians intended to finish the battle at daybreak; but during the darkness of night some Nez Percé scouts who knew the place well guided the survivors out through the enemy's lines, and they escaped. In the morning the Indians followed them right to the Snake, but did not overtake many of them. In this engagement the Indians claim to have taken the soldiers' camp, with all their outfit and provisions, their pack train of over 100 mules and horses, a number of cavalry horses, and arms, including some cannon. They also claim to have killed over half the command of about 200 mounted men. After this the Spokan and most of the Coeur d'Alêne went to Chief Lot's place on the present Spokane Reserve and held war dances. In the fall of the same year Colonel Wright, with artillery and about 1,000 horse and foot soldiers, besides Nez Percé scouts, entered the Spokan country. The Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne met them and fought four engagements with this force inside of a week, but had to retreat after each engagement. However, they managed to take all their women and children, the wounded, and many of their dead with them. In one instance they were unable to take all their lodges and baggage and burned some of them by setting a grass fire behind them. When the command had nearly reached Spokane Falls the Indians held a council, and the Spokan, being out of ammunition and their chiefs at variance, decided to ask for peace. Chief Garry[1] was sent to Colonel Wright's camp to make the arrangements, as he could speak good English. Most of the chiefs surrendered, part of the agreement being that the Indians were to deliver up their horses. The Spokan delivered up most of the horses they had at hand, and it seems that the soldiers at once shot about a thousand of them. The Spokan were now quite unable to continue the war, even if they had wished to, for most of them were without horses and ammunition. Even in the beginning they had little or no chance of winning, being armed with old-fashioned muskets and bows and arrows. They were also short of ammunition at the start, and had no means of replenishing it. On the other hand, the soldiers were equal in numbers to the Indians, well armed with up-to-date long-range rifles, well supplied with ammunition, and, besides, they had howitzers, before which the Indians could not stand up. In their last council the Indians debated as to whether they should retreat into the mountains and continue the war, whether they should scatter into a number of small parties throughout the country, or whether they should sue for peace and end the war. They decided to sue for peace. It is said that they lost from 15 to 20 men killed in each of the engagements, and quite a number wounded. The losses of the soldiers are not known. Some Indians who would not surrender scattered into various parts of the country and gave up hostilities, while the Coeur d'Alêne retreated into their own country. After Colonel Steptoe's defeat the Spokan knew that a large force of whites would come some time and try to beat them, so they invited the Kalispel to join them for defense and war, as the Coeur d'Alêne had done. The Kalispel called a great council and debated the question for several days. Several of the chiefs and leading men were against going to war, and one shaman told the people that the Spokan and their allies would meet with defeat, as he had noticed some very peculiar happenings among the stars which portended evil for the Indians. One of the strongest speakers against the Kalispel entering the war was Michel Revais's father-in-law. A warrior called *X̣ane'wa* was very angry at his speech, denounced him as a coward, and asked the people not to listen to him. He told them, "I am going to war; I want to fight the whites." A war dance was held, but very few joined. In the end *X̣ane'wa* went to the Spokan with about 25 followers, and he was the first man killed on the Indian side in the battle of Spokane. Some soldiers on swift horses ran him down. One caught him by the hair and threw him off his horse and the others shot him when he was on the ground. When the war broke out the great majority of the Kalispel moved into the Salmon River country in British Columbia. This was a deer-hunting and fishing ground of the tribe. Some remained there for about two years to be as far away from the warring Indians and whites as possible. Others of them went over to the buffalo country.

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[1] Chief Garry was sent when a boy by the fur traders to the Red River settlements in Manitoba, where he remained several years being educated. He could speak English fluently, and French nearly as well. He was also very proficient in Chinook and in the sign language.

Spotted Coyote, a famous war chief of the Pend d'Oreilles, was one of the very few warriors of that tribe who went over to help the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne. It was said that he was bullet proof. At the battle of Spokane he rode the full length of the battle line twice, challenging the soldiers, and telling them they could not kill him. They kept firing at him all the time, but he remained unhurt. He had not seen cannon (howitzers) in action before. A number of Indians on the edge of a coulée saw the soldiers and mules turn to take the cannon to a hill. They thought the artillerymen were running away, so they charged on them. When they got close the soldiers turned the guns around and fired into them, killing a number of men and horses, and scattering the rest. When Spotted Coyote saw this he told the Indians, "There is no use of our fighting. We can do nothing against cannon. The whites are far superior to us in their arms. We must give up fighting and make peace, or leave the country." After this engagement he left the Spokan and returned to his own country.

In the Nez Percé war of 1877 (?) the Flathead tribes were all neutral except to the extent that the Flathead furnished some scouts for the military. According to Revais, the war commenced in the following way. A number of the Nez Percé, and particularly those of Chief Joseph's band, were dissatisfied because the Government had failed to set aside for them a certain piece of land as a reserve, which had been promised; but probably this feeling alone would not have led to war. The immediate cause was that a white man had killed a man of Chief Joseph's band and remained unpunished. This Indian had two sons who were young men. Joseph's people were camped together and were holding a war dance for practice or fun. The two sons were taking no part in the dance, but were riding their horses around in the camp in a wild fashion. A man became annoyed at them, and, coming out of his lodge, said to them, "Why do you carry on like that? You think yourselves brave, and you run over my children. If you were men, you would not try to show off and ride over helpless children, but instead would kill the slayer of your father." That night the two young men went up the creek to where the white man lived and killed him. They took his race horse away, and then killed some other settlers on the creek. The whites reported that Chief Joseph and his people were dancing for war, which was not true, and a large number of soldiers came up and attacked the camp. The Indians retaliated, and thus the war commenced. Joseph and his people traveled to the east. He had about 400 warriors. The rest of the Nez Percé remained neutral. Joseph made for the Lolo Pass, followed by a number of soldiers, while another detachment of soldiers from Fort Missoula tried to intercept him. Along with them were many squaw-men, most of them married to Flathead women, and about 40 Flathead warriors who acted as scouts and guides. They lay in wait on the east side of the mountains; but the Nez Percé scouts saw them, and their party made a détour through a coulée beyond the ridge and passed the soldiers before the latter knew that they were there. When the main party had gone a considerable distance some of the Nez Percé left as a rear guard shot down on the soldiers, and only then did they know that the Indians had eluded them. Chief Joseph went to the Big Hole and later made a circle and passed both Shoshoni and Crow; but neither of these tribes would join him. Had he from the beginning gone straight north, either on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flathead, Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a roundabout way.

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between families were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes. A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms and the Crow were the next.

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flathead (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected that they would keep them and use them.

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville. However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook was not used a great deal, the principal language being French. Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly different.

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog soldiers or military and police societies of some Plains tribes, but I was unable to make sure of this point.

Each tribe formed a unit, the members being bound together by ties of blood, association, mutual interests, methods of making a living, common country, and dialect. Each tribe consisted of a number of bands, each making its headquarters as a rule in some definite locality, and composed of families more or less closely related by blood. The bands, however, had a greater range, or were more nomadic than those of most Salishan tribes of the Columbia and Fraser drainage. There are traces of groupings of some of the bands in larger units, at least among the Spokan and Kalispel. Each band had a chief and an assistant chief, who gave advice and looked after the affairs of the band. There was no central authority except the head chief. He and other chiefs formed a council and discussed the larger affairs of the tribe as a whole. The head chief kept the tribal pipe and other tribal property of a ceremonial kind used in the making of peace and war. It is uncertain whether the head chief was also a band chief or whether this chieftainship was a distinct office. As the exact number of bands that existed long ago is not remembered, the number of chiefs in each tribe is also unknown. The powers of the chiefs were in large measure advisory only. The ancient social organization changed so long ago that very little authentic information about it can be secured. The disappearance of the separate bands has been described before. Those of the Spokan and Kalispel never entirely disappeared. They were retained to some extent when these tribes were on their home grounds. The political and social organization now was centralized in the tribe. Instead of a number of practically independent small bands loosely bound together there was now a single organization for all. The bands ceased to have any local or geographical significance. Each tribe had a head chief, a subchief, and several "small" chiefs; but I did not learn much regarding the functions and duties of the different classes of chiefs. The head chief is said to have been the leader of the tribe, but as a rule he consulted the subchief, and often also the small chiefs, before deciding any matter of great importance. The subchief was an assistant to the head chief, in whose absence he acted as substitute. If the tribe divided for any reason, the head chief took charge of one part and the subchief of the other. The small chiefs had duties somewhat similar to those of the band chiefs in other Salishan tribes. If the tribe split up into parties for root digging, berrying, or buffalo hunting, each going to a different locality, a small chief took charge of each party. The small chiefs were of great importance in the gathering of the food supplies and in the overseeing and carrying out of regulations of many kinds. They had to look after the general welfare of the camp and the safety, comfort, and good conduct of the people.

They also had surveillance of the guarding and pasturing of horses and the procuring of firewood. There were fairly strict regulations regarding camping, fires, firewood, sanitation, herding of horses, scouting, guards, positions of lodges, positions of groups and tribes in the camp circle, and other matters.

When on the great buffalo hunts and in the main winter camp there was some kind of division of the men into companies under leaders for the performance of definite duties. In some cases, at least, the leaders took orders from the head chief of the party. A group of young men acted as scouts; another group assisted the small chiefs acting as a police in camp and on the march. Another group of older men traveled with the women and children and assisted in making camp. Another group of young men were horse herders. Most of these companies were small, numbering perhaps a dozen, according to the size of the party.

There was some method of ranking "braves" according to war experience and exploits, and positions were assigned to them when on the march, when attacking an enemy, and when stampeding buffalo; but I did not obtain details. There were no temporary hunting chiefs, as among the Thompson.

I was unable to learn definitely if each small chief always took charge of the same people, but there are indications suggesting that the small chief was originally a band chief; and most of the people who generally followed him in the summer when gathering food were probably descendants of people of a single, at one time local, band. Certain small chiefs were wont to go each summer to the same district, usually with the same families, and these places were considered their summer homes. A certain band almost invariably went to the Big Hole Valley to spend the summer, and a branch of this band nearly always went south to the Shoshoni country. I did not ascertain with certainty whether each small chief and the people who generally accompanied him in the summer had regular positions in the tribal camp circle. All the tribes camped in a circle, especially when buffalo hunting. When allied tribes were camped together each had its position in the circle. There was a definite usage regarding positions, which may have been geographical in origin. Thus, if Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were together, the former occupied the north half and the latter the south half of the circle; if Flathead and Shoshoni, the latter were south of the former in the circle. The dance house, when one was in use, was generally in the center, or near the center of the circle. This house was also often used as an assembly house. Generally all the horses were driven inside the circle at dusk and herded during the night. Many were picketed and others hobbled. At daybreak they were turned outside to graze again. Often there was a considerable amount of grass within the circle, if the camp had not been long in use.

CHIEFS.—Chieftainship was never strictly hereditary. For a considerable time chiefs have been elected. When the head chief of the tribe died the subchief had the right to succeed him. One of the small chiefs was elected subchief and a good man of the tribe was elected to fill the vacancy among the small chiefs. If the subchief declined the position of head chief he remained subchief and one of the small chiefs was elected head chief. If the small chief first selected to be chief refused then another one was asked. On the death of the head chief his place was always filled by one of the other chiefs. The main reasons given for refusing the position of head chief were poverty and unfitness. One would say, "I am not good enough to be the head man of the people." Another would say, "I am too poor." In former times a son not unfrequently succeeded his father as chief, but seldom did members of the same family hold a chieftainship for over three generations. Chiefs were generally superior men, and before election were distinguished for qualities such as wisdom, social influence, oratory, truthfulness, or bravery. Dignity, wealth, renown for warlike exploits, and striking physical appearance were also considered. A loud talker, one boastful, or who could not control his temper, could not be a chief. A chief should be considerate in dealings with others, modest in speech and behavior, quiet, cool, resourceful, and perfectly in control of himself. He should never talk in a loud voice, quarrel, show anger, fear, or jealousy. Chiefs' wives and children also ought to be unassuming, quiet, dignified, hospitable, to show that they were really chiefs' people, and so not disgrace their husbands and fathers. There were no women chiefs. The chiefs of the Flathead group had a great deal of influence and were respected and obeyed by their people. They wielded more power than the chiefs of other Salishan tribes. Six or seven generations ago the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles had each six chiefs—a head chief, a subchief, and four small chiefs. The Kalispel (probably excluding the Chewelah) had a head chief, a subchief, and three small chiefs. How the number of chiefs originated and whether they represent the original number of band chiefs is uncertain. If they do, then the Pend d'Oreilles probably consisted formerly of six bands and the Kalispel of five. At the present day there is said to be a head chief, a second chief, and two small chiefs for each tribe. The head chiefs of the Flathead as far as remembered were—

1. *Tcë'les łeimé'.* ("Three-Eagles"), chief about 200 years ago.

2. *Kwti'łs łeimé'.* ("Big-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He was killed by the Blackfoot (cf. p. 262 for an account of his death).

3. *Kotirā'tixēt* ("Big-Hawk"), a relative (probably a grandson) of No. 1. Killed by the Blackfoot. He was chief when Lewis and Clark came.

4. *Stamuxxxumqé'* ("Standing Grizzly-Bear"), no relative of the preceding chiefs. He was more than half Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel in blood. He was head chief when Michel Revais's father was young and he died the year the first priest came (around 1839).

5. (Victor) *Skoikoi'sžlici'* or *Scweixweilxslici* ("Plenty-of-Horses," from *xweixweil*, "plenty"; *sžlici'* or *xslici*, "horse"), no relation, or only very distantly related, to any of the preceding. Said to have been partly of *Tunà'xe* descent, and his name of Salish-*Tunà'xe* origin. He made the treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

6. (Charles [or Carlos]) *Łàmqe'.ke* or *słxmxaike'* ("Small Grizzly-Bear Claw"), son of No. 5. He was living in 1909, aged 70 years.

There is some confusion regarding Nos. 2 and 3. Revais said he thought Big-Eagle and Big-Hawk were different names for the same man. Some say that Big-Hawk succeeded Three-Eagles, while others say that there was a chief between them. *Àrlí'* was subchief of the Flathead when the tribe made a treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

The same informants gave the Pend d'Oreilles head chiefs as follows:

1. (Alexander) *Tx'malhaxlitse'* or *txmalxax.tse'* ("No-Horses"; from *txmal*, negative "without"; *haxlitse'* or *xax.tse'*, "horse"), said to have been partly of *Tunà'xe* descent, and his name from the Salish-*Tunà'xe* language. He died a very old man about 1868 and is said to have had 400 horses. He was the Pend d'Oreilles chief who made a treaty with Governor Stevens. Chief Alexander had an elder brother called *Tcxnko's'hwe'* ("Man-who-walks-alone"). He was a prominent man in his time. He and Alexander were first cousins to Michel Revais's father. Chief Alexander had a daughter who married Chief Louison. She was second cousin to Michel Revais.

2. (Michel) *Hwihixlliot* ("Plenty-of-Grizzly-Bear": from *hwihwixl*, "plenty"; *slict'* or *xlist'*, "grizzly bear"), no relative to No. 1. He was a small chief of the tribe when his predecessor died and was elected head chief after two others—André and Pierre (or Peter)—had refused. He was probably partly of *Tunà'xe* descent, as his name is from the Salish-*Tunà'xe* language. He died about 1890.

3. (John Peter) *Ncè'lqan* or *Naè'rìqxn* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head"), son of No. 2. Chief in 1909, aged about 45 years.

The subchief of the Pend d'Oreilles when treaty was made with the Government in 1855 was *Nkaltex.'t'* or *Nkotilte.t'* ("Big-Canoe").

I obtained the following list of Kalispel head chiefs, but possibly they were chiefs only of the Lower Kalispel.

1. *Nt'wards* (meaning uncertain), chief before the whites came.

2. Nicolas (?) *Ku'lkuls kwimi'* or *Kalkuls qoii'ex* ("Red-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He died about 1825.

3. *Eiswi'ssom.xt'* ("Standing-Bear").

4. Victor *Ntsaks'lia'* (meaning uncertain) or *Ats'mqen* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head"), died an old man. He was chief at the time of the war between the whites and the Spokan, and had a document given to him in 1859 by the chief of the military, recognizing him as a friendly chief.

5. Marcellin *Teqe'qei* (meaning doubtful), chief of the Lower Kalispel in 1909, and aged about 70.

None of these chiefs made any treaty with Governor Stevens. Nicolas *Silxmaxs'tu'*. was subchief in 1900. He is said to be a descendant of one of the early chiefs. The late chief of the Camas Prairie or Upper Kalispel on the Flathead Reserve was Red-Eagle, a relative of Red-Eagle No. 2 of the Lower Kalispel. He died after 1900.

Some chiefs of the Chewelah (or Colville Valley Kalispel) were in succession as follows:

1. *Kwoikwoitxmxla'* or *Kwakwo'ila* (meaning uncertain), said to be a Salish-*Tunä'xe* word. He was partly of *Tunä'xe* descent.

2. *Tcukwi'lxqen* (meaning uncertain), an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head."

3. (Tom Peyette) *Silxmlölöroi'* ("Chief Buffalo-Calf"), said to be a Salish-*Tunä'xe* name. *Ĭölöroi'* is understood to have meant "buffalo-calf" in the Salish-*Tunä'xe* tongue. This man's father was partly of *Tunä'xe* descent.

My informant did not know the names of the recent chiefs of the Chewelah.

The chief of the Kutenai who made treaty with the United States Government and obtained a share in the Flathead Reserve was Æneas *Kwotilxni'* ("Big-Knife"). This is his Pend d'Oreilles name, not his Kutenai name. He was a tall, strong man. His father was an Iroquois and his mother belonged to the Kutenai of Windermere, British Columbia. His son, also called *Kwotilxni'*, was chief of the Kutenai on the Flathead Reserve in 1909, and lived at Dayton Creek, near Flathead Lake, where the Kutenai are settled.

I did not obtain any list of Spokan chiefs. It seems that each division of the Spokan had a chief and some small chiefs. Long ago there was no head chief proper, although, according to some, the chief of the Upper Spokan was considered the leading chief of the three divisions. After the tribe took up buffalo hunting the Upper Spokan had a head chief, a subchief, and small chiefs like the Flathead, and it was customary to recognize the head chief of the Upper Spokan as head chief of all the Spokan. When the divisions were combined in hunting, traveling, and war, the divisional chiefs of the Middle and Lower Spokan and the subchief of the Upper Spokan were all classed as subchiefs, and ranked in the same way. In making treaties with the Government and in the war with the whites in 1858 Garry of the Upper Spokan was recognized as head chief of all the Spokan. At this time the subchief of this division was *Po'lotqen* (an hereditary name). The chief of the Lower Spokan when the tribe made treaty was *Hwistpo'* ("Walks-Outside"). He was a brother of Oliver Lot *Kotiłko'* ("Big-Star"), late chief of the Lower Spokan. *Spoit'x*, a tall man, was chief of the Middle (or Hangman's Creek) Spokan in 1908, or at least of those on the Flathead Reserve. Each tribe on the reserve continues to have its own chiefs. Besides the regular chiefs, there were a number of war chiefs and dance chiefs in each tribe. Sometimes, at least, there was a head war chief and a head dance chief. In some cases the regular chiefs were also war chiefs and hunting chiefs, and some of them were also sometimes dance chiefs. There may also have been some men who were special chiefs or permanent captains of companies or groups of various kinds, but I did not obtain sufficient information on this point.

NAMES.—Personal names were similar in character to those of the neighboring Salish and Plains tribes. On the whole, they differed from those of the Thompson, Shuswap, and more northern and western Salish tribes in having far fewer names with regular name suffixes, such as are employed by the Thompson: *-ēqᴀt* ("cloud"), *-ēlst* ("stone"), *-qᴇn, -qain* ("head"), *-i'tsa* ("robe"). Long ago names of this class were more abundant than they are now. The names of most men were derived from dreams, and many of them were connected with the guardian spirit. A great many other names were derived from exploits or personal characteristics, and a few were nicknames. If a man were very wealthy he might take the name "Many-horses"; if he had killed many enemies he might be called "Killed-many"; and so on. As among the Thompson, a man sometimes showed his modesty by taking a name meaning exactly the opposite of the characteristic for which he was noted or for which he wished to be distinguished. In some cases he took a name of this kind, or it was given to him, in irony. Names of this sort were common. Thus a man very wealthy in horses might be called "No-horses." If very wealthy in every way, his name might be "Poor-Man" or "Beggar." Sometimes a distinguished man was given a name as a mark of honor, and the man adopted it if he saw fit. These names generally had to do with exploits, particularly in war. Names derived from dreams or connected with the guardian spirit were taken from visions seen or given in dreams, from the personal appearance of the guardian spirit, or from directions given by him. Some were names given by the guardian spirit and told to be used, and others were names of the guardian spirit himself. Adjectives such as "big," "little," "red," "black," "blue," "spotted," were frequent in these names. Many were obtained at puberty, but some were taken later in life. Any name, once adopted, could become an hereditary name. Following are a few names:

Tona'eqᴀt ("—— Cloud," an old hereditary name), a celebrated chief of the Okanagon long ago. The name is also used by the Spokan.

Sᴀqᴀaypᴀqai'n ("—— Head," an old hereditary name), a former noted chief of the Nespelim. The name occurs also among the Spokan.

Stᴀkᴀsalst' (possibly "Blue-Man"), a former prominent chief of the Lower Spokan.*

Ilem'ᴀx spᴀkani' ("Chief-of-the-Sun"), a former chief of the Lower Spokan.

(Isaac) *Kwoiepᴀkani'* ("Black-Moon"), a late dance chief of the Flathead.

(Big Sam) *Nkaltsx'ɫ'* ("Big-Canoe"), a Flathead chief, a leader of dances. His name is that of a former Pend d'Oreilles chief who was his relative. (See Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, p. 377.)

(Moise) *Kwx'lisxme'ptsxmxa'* ("Door-of-the-Grizzly-Bear"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909.

(Louison) *Kwulkwulsmī'na* ("Red-Owl"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909. "Red-Owl" was also his father's name. The other judge of the Flathead in 1909 was Louis Pierre.

(Moise) *Tiɫtslu'tsu'* ("Crawling-Mountain"), a former subchief of the Flathead.

Sxu'tesxmxɫ' ("Grizzly-Bear Track"), a subchief of the Flathead when Big-Eagle was head chief (see p. 362); also the name of a celebrated Flathead shaman and prophet born about 1790 (see p. 384).

Iâlelxmi' or *Yôlelxmi'* ("Good-Chief"), a rich man of the Flathead. As an irony on his name, Revais stated that he killed his sister with a knife on a Christmas night, two years afterwards killed his wife, and later killed another wife.

Other names of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were "Spotted-Coyote," "Red-Hawk," "Buffalo-Bull," "Red-Horns," "Red-Bull."

SLAVERY.—Slavery was not prevalent among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. Some of them were Blackfoot and Shoshoni. In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles did not trade in slaves, and never took captives. They preferred to kill rather than take prisoners; and members of enemy tribes at their mercy after a battle were either killed or allowed to escape. It is said that the Spokan, however, had a number of slaves at one time, some of them captives of war, and others procured in trade from Columbia River tribes and at The Dalles.

SMOKING.—There is no tradition of a time when these tribes did not smoke. Some tubular pipes were used very long ago, but pipes of the elbow type, the simple bowl type, and the type with platform, have been in vogue for a long time. Some pipes of the elbow type had flanges along the outside of the bowl, which were sometimes serrated. Pipes were made of soapstone of various colors, red and black being the most common. Catlinite was procured from Plains tribes and also from the Shoshoni. A red soapstone, duller in color than catlinite, was obtained near Pend Oreille Lake; a brown kind from the Coeur d'Alêne country; and occasionally green, yellow, white, gray, and mottled from western tribes. Black soapstone was common in the Flathead country. In ceremonial smoking the pipe was always passed around sunwise. Before smoking it was often pointed with the stem toward the four points of the compass and the earth and sky, or whiffs of smoke were blown in these directions. After smoking, in some ceremonies, the pipe was laid down to cool on a buffalo skull. A kind of wild tobacco was used in smoking, probably the same kind as was used by the Thompson and Shoshoni.

X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

Twins.—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs.

Baby Carriers.—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board [1] came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wickerwork were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use.

Head Deformation.—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly.

In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head.

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[1] See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1889, fig. 18, a Spokan carrier.

The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tightening of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

Puberty.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among the other tribes.

Marriage.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women who died as old spinsters.

Mother-in-law Taboo.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did this, he was no longer respected by the people.

Customs Regarding Women.—Long ago menstruating women had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands. Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as among white people.

Burial.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats, skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot. Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to deceive enemies. On examining the place people would think a party had rested there for a short time, judging by remains of small fires, cut wood, and tracks.

XI. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

Religion.—A belief was held by the Flathead that there are three worlds, one above the other, the middle one being the earth on which we live. A great and good chief, who is the source of life, lives in the upper world and rules it, while the chief in the underworld is of an evil disposition.

Another somewhat similar belief was that there is a great tree, the roots of which sink far into the earth, and the top of which reaches the sky. The great good chief *Amo'tkᴇn* sits on top of the tree, while the bad chief *Amte'p* sits at the root within the earth. All the good people go to *Amo'tkᴇn's* country when they die, and the evil ones to *Amte'p's* country.

The Flathead prayed to *Amo'tken*, but not to *Amte'p*. The former makes rain and snow, makes everything go right on earth and in the sky, makes food plentiful, and tries to benefit people. *Amte'p* is mysterious, and often tries to harm people, to blight the crops, and make game and food scarce. The wicked beings of mythological times who formerly inhabited the earth live with him. Spirits still haunt the lakes, rivers, and mountains where they once lived, and do harm to people.

Amo'tkᴇn is the deity who sent Coyote into the world to make life easier for the people. The Flathead believed that souls go north to the entrance to *Amo'tkᴇn's* country. Coyote lives in an ice house at the gate through which souls pass. Some Pend d'Oreilles think that souls followed the main streams north to the gate of the spirit land. The Kalispel say that souls follow the streams first north and then west to the spirit land, in just the same direction as the main river runs. Others say that souls follow the streams to the sunset land, where the shades live, and disappear there, just as sun and moon do. The east is considered the region of birth and life, the west that of death and mystery. The mythological tales of the Flathead tribes are closely related to those of the Plateau tribes to the north, west, and south. They also show some relationship to tales of the Plains and Algonquian tribes. Coyote was the culture hero.

Giants, Dwarfs, etc.—Beliefs in races of giants and dwarfs were held, as among the surrounding tribes. Dwarfs are called "small people," while the name for giants is the same as that used by other Salishan tribes. Different kinds of spirits are said to haunt certain lakes and parts of the mountains. They are similar in character to the "land mysteries" and "water mysteries" of the Thompson. Offerings were made to them to obtain good weather, good hunting, and immunity from harm of any kind when people were within or near their sphere of influence.

Guardian Spirits.—Guardian spirits were of the same classes as among the Coeur d'Alêne. At puberty, every one endeavored to obtain one or more of them, and for this purpose went through a long course of training. Bathing in running water, fasting, praying, and keeping vigil in lonely places were prominent features. Every one obtained one or more songs at puberty. Some were received directly from the guardian spirit, others were heard in dreams or visions. When not obtainable in this way, songs were occasionally composed by the novice in secret. Some songs were merely modifications and new variations of those already known to the people as a whole. The themes were usually suggested by something seen during the vigils or while training. A song might begin with the words, "I saw a bear," and so on. Sometimes songs expressed the desires or expectations of the person, and might begin with the words, "May my friend the eagle come!" "May such and such happen!" "May I see such and such a thing!" "May I do this or that!" Songs were also composed in later life after notable dreams, important events, or war exploits. There were also some songs composed for fun, with words of a comic nature.

Men kept skins, feathers, hairs, claws, and other parts of animals and birds, which were representations of their guardian spirits, and also charms, roots, etc., in medicine bags of leather, rawhide medicine cases, or small specially made parflêches. When going to battle many men carried their medicine cases, while others affixed feathers or skins of their animal guardians to their hair or clothing.

Berdaches.—There were a few cases of men dressing and acting like women. As a rule, they became shamans, and cured sick people. They lived alone, did not marry, did not go to war, dressed in poor clothes, and never bedecked their persons gaudily. They dressed and did up their hair like women. They did all kinds of woman's work, and no man's work. Young men sometimes visited them and joked with them, but they held no familiar intercourse with either sex. Occasionally, to please the men, they would dress in men's clothing for a day and then resume their ordinary clothing. It is supposed that they were told by their guardian spirits to live as women do. Revais knew two who went by the women's names of Marguerite and Julianne. One began to dress and act like a girl when 7 or 8 years old, and the other when 10 or 11. Both were full-sexed males, and not hermaphrodites.

Shamans.—Shamans and beliefs connected with shamanism were similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. A noted shaman and prophet of the Flathead was Bear-Track, who died about 1880, aged over 90 years. If the people could not locate buffalo they asked his help. After gathering all the young men together he would take his drum and sing, making them all join in the song. After singing a while, he would say, "The Piegan have made medicine and keep the buffalo. I will break their medicine and make the buffalo come. In four days the buffalo will arrive, and you will see many of them." Buffalo never failed to be found or seen in the time and numbers he stated. Sometimes Bear-Track would say to the chiefs or to the people, "The Crow [or Blackfoot, as the case might be] are on their way to steal horses. They will be here to-night. Make ready and kill them." His prophecies always proved to be true. He could tell when battles would be fought, foresee the results, and the numbers killed. He could tell where friendly and hostile camps were, and where and when persons would be found or met. The Crow and Blackfoot knew him well, and were very much afraid of him. If some of them happened to hear his drum they would run back and give up the attempt to take horses. They believed he could see them as soon as he began to drum and sing. Many hostiles, as soon as they learned he was in the camp, would at once leave and abandon the attack. They believed he could frustrate all attempts to take horses and scalps; and that if they tried to open a fight they would certainly be killed.

MISSIONS.—Nominally almost all the people of the Flathead tribes are Catholics, but they do not appear to be as much under the control of the church as, for instance, the Coeur d'Alêne. Revais told me the following about missions. The first priests to come west of the Rockies to the Columbia or Oregon country were the two Blanchets and De Mars from Canada. The first missionary among the Flathead was Father De Smet. He had no fixed headquarters, but traveled about among the Indians. A special mission was founded in the Bitterroot Valley about 1840 or 1841; but it was given up after a few years, on account of Indian wars and the frequent raids made for stealing horses and cattle. Father McGraney [1] was the first resident priest of the mission. He moved to Oregon about 1842 or 1843. In 1843 (?) [2] Father Hogan founded a mission at Kalispel and had a church built there. The mission at this place was given up and transferred in 1854 to the present one on the Flathead Reserve at St. Ignatius. Some of the Iroquois who settled among the Flathead interested them in the white man's religion and in the Bible, and persuaded them to send to St. Louis for priests. Four young Flathead men started in 1831 and reached St. Louis, where they wintered. Two of them died there, and the other two set out for home in the spring, but never reached there. It is supposed they were killed or captured on the road. Some authorities say seven men started—three Flathead and four Nez Percé. Three of them turned back, two died in St. Louis, one died on the way back, and only one, a Nez Percé, reached home. In 1835 the tribe sent another delegation headed by old Ignace, an Iroquois. They returned safely. In 1837 they sent a third delegation, who were all killed by the Sioux. In 1839 the fourth delegation went, consisting of one Flathead and one Iroquois. They brought Father De Smet the same or the following year. A large escort of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and some Nez Percé met Father De Smet near the Wyoming boundary. The following year more priests came, and a Flathead escort met them at the Wind River Mountains. There was no permanent mission among the Spokan until about 1865 or later.

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[1] I give the name as it seemed to be pronounced by Revais.

[2] Revais seemed to be sure of some dates, and not so sure of others.

Ceremonies and Dances.—There appears to have been a considerable number of ceremonies connected with war, and many different kinds of dances, among the Flathead tribes. Among the Spokan, and probably the other tribes, there were two periods, each lasting two or three weeks, in which the whole tribe assembled for feasting and dancing. One gathering, probably the principal one, was about midsummer, and the other about midwinter. Warriors recounted their exploits. The people wore their best clothing and decorated their horses. In some places the winter gathering was much less important and confined often to bands. Singing formed an accompaniment to all dancing. Deer hoofs and other rattles, rasps, sticks, and drums were used for beating time.

Sun dance.—The sun dance of the plains was not adopted, although the Flathead especially were well acquainted with its performance among eastern tribes. A sun dance something like that of the Coeur d'Alêne was kept up by the Spokan as a distinct dance, often performed by itself. Among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead it was combined with the praying dance, at least in later times, and obscured by it. Thus, although these tribes performed a dance at the time of the solstice, when the sun was observed to turn, the dancing and prayers were the same as in the praying dance, and it seems that the sun was not directly addressed (?). The people prayed, danced, and sang with intervals of rest and feasting. Offerings were made in some places and many of the paintings were symbolic of the sun. The dancing lasted from one to four days. The sun was addressed as chief, father, great mystery (?).

Some of the Flathead held their summer sun dances in conjunction with Shoshoni and it seems that these Flathead had a more elaborate dance than the Salish tribe farther west.

Praying dance.—The praying dance was held several times during the summer, often four times. The people danced in a circle, one behind another and following the sun's course. They made the same signs while dancing as the Thompson and Coeur d'Alêne, and prayed and talked to *Amo'tkᴇn* to keep them well and preserve them from harm. The dancers sang while dancing. There was no drumming or loud cries in this dance, which was of a solemn character. I did not learn whether it had any connection with the belief in the return of souls, or with other beliefs entertained by the Shuswap and Thompson regarding souls; but there were some vague beliefs of this kind among the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Long ago a dance was held for four days in the wintertime, generally in January, at which prayers were offered, but it is not clear whether this was the sun dance, the praying dance, or another somewhat similar dance. At this dance or some other dance, offerings of tobacco and old clothes were made and hung on a pole.

First-fruits ceremony and harvest dances.—In olden times all the Flathead tribes had first-fruits or harvest ceremonies, which were combined with dancing. The chief painted his face, called his people together, and prayed to *Amo'tkεn* to continue giving them good crops and prosperity, abundance of food and facility in gathering it and immunity from sickness. He thanked him for the present crops, and made him an offering of the first fruits on a dish. He then sang a song, and the people danced. Afterwards the chief called on the men to sing. They sang in turn, the people dancing to each song. The women did not sing individually, but while dancing joined in each song. In some places these ceremonies and dances were performed during the summer and autumn as each principal variety of roots or berries was gathered. In other places the ceremonies were performed less frequently or only at the beginning of the harvest season.

Hunting dances, buffalo dance.—I did not hear of any horse dance to celebrate the period when horses are fat and buffalo hunting was about to begin, but a buffalo dance was performed in conjunction with the war dance before any large party went buffalo hunting. Another kind of dance relating to buffalo hunting was sometimes performed when buffalo were scarce. Generally a shaman who had power over the buffalo was requested to take charge of the dance.

Guardian spirit.—A "medicine" dance was performed every winter. Men sang their guardian-spirit songs and danced. Some people did not sing, but shamans always did so. In later days only a few men, generally those who had powerful guardians, sang at this dance. There was no praying, and *Amo'tkεn* was not addressed. Usually the dance lasted four days. This dance and some others were said to produce cold weather or wind. Some think it had the power of preventing sickness among the people and destroying "bad medicine" made by shamans of other tribes.

Turkey and other animal dances.—Dances were performed in which the dancers imitated the actions of birds and quadrupeds, but it is not clear whether the dancers were members of any societies or dancing organizations. In later days the turkey dance was introduced, the dancers wearing feather bustles, and imitating the walking and actions of the wild turkey. The dancers stooped forward, walked stiff legged, held one hand up to the forehead and the other back at the backside. Most of the animal dances were named after the animals imitated, such as deer, bear, dog, raven, chicken. Some of the leaders of these dances wore regalia appropriate to each dance.

Marrying dance.—The marrying dance went out of use at an early time. It was nearly the same in form as that of the Coeur d'Alêne. The young women danced in one line and the young men opposite them in another line within touching distance. When the song commenced the two lines moved in opposite directions. All carried short sticks or batons. When a man chose a girl he touched her on the shoulder with a stick. If she refused him she struck the stick off with her stick.

Round dance or squaw dance.—The women form a circle or a three-quarter circle close together, and sometimes join hands. They move round sidewise, following the sun's course, and bringing one foot up to the other with a jerk. The drummers usually stand in the middle of the circle and move around slowly, in the same manner as the dancers do. Occasionally the drummers sit. They and the dancers sing together. In one of these dances which I witnessed four drummers stood back to back, facing the dancers, and turned as the dancers did, so that their faces were nearly always toward the same part of the circle. The women formed a wide and complete circle on the outside, except at one place, where a gap was left wide enough to allow a person to pass through easily. Many of the dancers joined hands; others put their hands on each other's shoulders or around each other's waists. As soon as the drums started all went round singing. Presently a woman among the spectators took up a man and led him through the opening in the circle to the space inside between the dancers and the drummers. Here they went round together in the same way as the other dancers. Several other women among the spectators did the same, and also some women in the original dance circle left it and took up partners. The couples in the inner circle joined hands or locked arms, and went round in pairs close together. After a time the music stopped and the dancers stood still. Presently it started again, and they continued. This pause was a notification that the next time the music stopped the dance was at an end. At the end of the dance all took their seats except the couples who had formed the inner circle. These now formed in a line. The dance chief advanced toward them and asked each woman in turn what she intended to pay her partner for dancing with her. The chief then called out in a loud voice that so and so would pay such and such an amount to her partner for dancing with her. Most of the payments were small, such as tobacco, fifty cents, a dollar, a handkerchief, etc.; but anything may be given; a blanket, a horse, etc. After a rest the dance started up again and continued in the same way as before, with only this difference, that the men who were chosen as partners in the last dance now returned the compliment to their erstwhile partners by taking them up to dance and giving them presents in return. Most of the men returned a little more than the value they had received from the women. Occasionally this dance is called at the request of any man who says he would like to see the women dance. Then only the women dance. They generally do so in their best style, both in dancing and singing; and at the end of the dance the man may donate perhaps five dollars to the women, the amount being divided equally among them by the dance chief. This round or women's dance is said to have been introduced recently by visiting Cree or Ojibwa—about 1895 or 1900.

Begging ceremony.—I saw a kind of begging ceremony performed by some Cree who were visiting the Flathead. The performers wore masks with long noses (some of them seemed to resemble black bears), and they carried bows and arrows and bags. They passed around all the tents of the Flathead camp circle; and as the occupants of each became aware of their approach they placed food outside for them. This food the performers approached with exclamations and grunts, and pretended to stalk and shoot, as if it were game. Finally they deposited all in the capacious bags they carried for the purpose. The performers sang, beat drums, danced, and went through many antics, as they passed from one tent to another, and were followed by a crowd of children, who enjoyed the fun.

Ceremonies and dances in connection with war.—The Flathead had numerous ceremonies and dances connected with war, including several kinds of war dances, meeting dances, scalp dances and victory dances. It seems that there was a dance in anticipation of war, another before going to war, one before going on a raid, one before making an attack, and one when expecting to be attacked. Each was a little different in character from the others. The Flathead also had several kinds of horse and foot parades. The scalp dance was much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and there was a special ceremony for the meeting and conducting of warriors who returned to camp with scalps. In this or another ceremony the scalps were carried on one or more long poles. Ceremonies similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne were performed when organizing war parties and parties going on horse-stealing raids. One or more of these ceremonies consisted of singing and the beating of a buffalo robe with sticks in front of each lodge. Before going to war the men who were to undertake the expedition went around the camp circle on horseback all night, singing. Recruits joined them as they went around. The women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruiting ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the coup stick and counted coup; and there was a grading of warriors according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (according to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers, the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes, specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters. Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense. These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by membership in age societies.

A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick. This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met, one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When touched, he said "*Ye'-e*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he had seen buffalos.

The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the recounting of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of drummers began a song and beat the drums. The music changed, and the young men stood up. It changed again, and they all gathered in the center. They went forward and back in this way four times, and then around in a circle sunwise. One of the young men left the others and danced around the bunch of feathers, while his companions continued to dance in a circle outside of him. He danced toward the feathers and backed away again. He did this four times, each time approaching nearer. The third time he almost touched the feathers, and the fourth time he picked them up. The music stopped, and the dancers walked to where the chief was in the west, and, after giving the feathers to the chief, sat down. The chief now stood up and placed his hand on the upright spear which was still stuck in the ground. Now he recounted each warlike deed, stated whom he had killed, wounded, and counted coup on, giving all the circumstances. He spoke slowly and plainly. At each pause in the recount the drums beat, "tat, tat, tat—tat!" At some parts of the narration they beat more loudly, as if giving emphasis or applause. When the chief had finished he hung the feathers up on a pole or post. While he was doing this the chorus sang a special song. The chief then took his seat, and the music ceased.

I did not succeed in getting the exact meanings of the several parts of the ceremony, such as the signification of the feathers, the dancing around the feathers, and the special drumbeats.

At the Fourth of July dances on the reserve I saw Chief Moise recount his experiences in battles with the Blackfoot and Crow. He appeared wearing only moccasins, breechclout, necklace, armlets, and headband. His whole body was painted yellow except the right leg below the calf, which was painted red. He explained that he painted this way because the deeds he narrated took place on the Yellowstone in a great battle with the Blackfoot. He held in one hand a ceremonial weapon like a spear, the blade of which he stuck into the ground. It had a large iron head and was wrapped with otter skin from the blade to the end. The butt end was bent over and formed a loop. This ceremonial weapon was a token of his bravery. Only a man who had advanced in battle to within touching distance of the enemy in the face of superior numbers was entitled to carry this kind of spear at the dances and parades.

All these dances are now practically pastimes and very little of their old meaning remains.

In the war dance the chorus consists of six or more men, who sing and drum. They sit on the west side of the dance circle. The dance chief stands to the east, and carries a ceremonial whip. The dancers squat or sit on the outer edges of the dancing place, the spectators around them and the drummers on the outside. When the music starts the chief passes around the circle, following the sun's course, with a hopping step, flourishes his whip, and calls, "*Hwa'i, hwa'a!*" ("Start!" or "Go!"). He taps or whips gently many of the dancers as he passes along. They immediately arise, and, passing into the dancing space, begin to dance. The dance step consists in stamping one foot twice, then taking a step forward and stamping the other foot twice. Experts advance quite rapidly in this way. An older dance step was more like a hop, and old men sometimes dance in this way yet. Many dancers nowadays wear feather bustles, as in the turkey dance, and bend forward considerably in the dance. Most men have their legs more or less bent, but some dance holding themselves very straight. Some go straight forward, while some of the very active young men go more or less zigzag, at the same time twisting their bodies sidewise or half around, and alternately stooping forward close to the ground and then straightening up again. The dancers move in a body to the east, return, and repeat; while the chief dances contrariwise to the other dancers, passing around them, and sometimes out and in through them, encouraging them. The earliest way of dancing was for all the dancers to advance in a circle counterclockwise. Some of the dancers utter war cries—exclamations and grunts. After dancing for a time the music stops for a minute and the dancers stand in their places. This is a signal that there will soon be a pause in the dancing. The music continues again for about five minutes and the dance proceeds. When the music stops again all walk to the edge of the circle and rest. After a while the music starts again; and the chief rises and goes around, urging the men with his whip, as before. They begin to dance. In a short time the music ceases for a minute, and the dancers stand still. Again the music starts very loudly, and the dance continues until the next rest. Thus it lasts for hours with short intervals of rest, and all the dancers perspire profusely. Some dancers carry weapons.

In the old style of war dance all bore weapons and the dancers advanced making motions as if looking for the enemy, looking for tracks, scanning the horizon, attacking an enemy, stabbing with spears and striking with tomahawks. The dancers dress in their best clothes and best bonnets. In the old-style dance the dancers performed in their war dresses or in very little clothing. Some had only moccasins, breechclout, and headdress. Others wore a shirt besides. Those who had bare legs wore garter rattles and ankle rattles of deer's hoofs, and armlets and wristlets were worn by those having bare arms. Rattle belts and rattle pendants and hand rattles were also used. Small bells are used nowadays instead of the hoof rattles. The face was painted and the hair done up as for war. Red was the color of the common face paint; but stripes of red, yellow, and black were common. The legs were often painted yellow or white. Nowadays men with short hair often use a narrow headdress of short hair, cut an even length, set with a bunch of colored feathers fastened to their own hair, forming a kind of ridge on the top of the head. This headdress is of comparatively late introduction, and is in imitation of the roached heads of the Pawnee and southern Indians. Some also wear wigs made of tresses of hair woven or glued together, which reach a long way down the back. This may be in imitation of a style of hairdress formerly in vogue among some eastern tribes. In the old-style war dance many kinds of headdresses were used. Besides bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were common, headdresses of entire skins of birds, head skins of animals, and others set with buffalo, antelope, and deer horns, were in use.

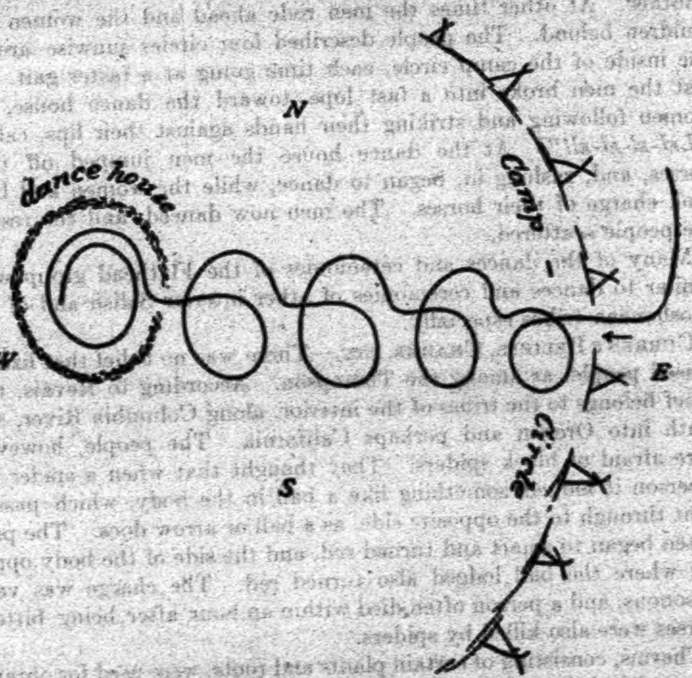

FIGURE 30.—Design illustrating dance

A parade ceremony, performed by men only before the war dance, was as follows. The dancers congregated outside of the camp circle to the north. Some of them dressed here for the dance. They marched on foot and entered the camp circle from the east, singing as they went along. They headed toward the dance house, which was near the center of the camp circle, marching first west, then describing a circle against the sun south, east, and north, then advancing west some distance, and again describing a circle. In this way they marched in four circles (fig. 39) before reaching the dance house. They entered it through the east entrance and sat down in a circle, or immediately began to dance contrasunwise.

Another parade ceremony often took place in the morning, before the dances commenced. Men, women, and even children participated in it. The procession formed outside of the camp circle to the north and entered the circle from the east. All the people were mounted, and riders and mounts were decked in the finest possible style. Sometimes the men formed in one line and the women in another. At other times the men rode ahead and the women and children behind. The people described four circles sunwise around the inside of the camp circle, each time going at a faster gait. At last the men broke into a fast lope toward the dance house, the women following and striking their hands against their lips, calling *"Lxl-xl-xl-xl!"*[1] At the dance house the men jumped off their horses, and, rushing in, began to dance, while the women and boys took charge of their horses. The men now danced, and the rest of the people scattered.

Many of the dances and ceremonies of the Flathead group were similar to dances and ceremonies of other interior Salish and of the Shoshonean tribes especially.

CURRENT BELIEFS, CHARMS, ETC.—There was no belief that lizards chased people, as among the Thompson. According to Revais, this belief belongs to the tribes of the interior, along Columbia River, and south into Oregon and perhaps California. The people, however, were afraid of black spiders. They thought that when a spider bit a person it lodged something like a ball in the body, which passed right through to the opposite side, as a ball or arrow does. The part bitten began to smart and turned red, and the side of the body opposite where the ball lodged also turned red. The charge was very poisonous, and a person often died within an hour after being bitten. Horses were also killed by spiders.

Charms, consisting of certain plants and roots, were used for obtaining good luck, protection, success in love, and wealth. The same or other plants in different combinations were used for bringing bad luck, sickness, and death to an enemy. Besides charms of this kind, poisons were used. If a woman wanted to poison a man she went to a graveyard and obtained a small piece of a rotten corpse, with which she anointed berries or other food that the man would eat. Another method was to hang a large black toad by the legs to a branch, to put a small cross stick in its mouth to keep it open, and sometimes also a skewer through its body. A cup was placed underneath to catch the poison which ran from its mouth, the toad being left hanging until dead. Some women, instead of this, put the toad on a flat rock, placed another flat stone on top, and crushed it to death. The juices of the body were then collected and put on food to be eaten by the person to be poisoned. When a person ate toad poison his stomach was spoiled, he lost his appetite, and died as if in consumption. Women sometimes poisoned men through jealousy.

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[1] Said to be a call used to encourage the men. When the men were fighting and fell back, the women called in this way, and the men, becoming ashamed, returned to persevere in the fight. Among the Thompson this cry is used by the women, and sometimes also by the men, to a person who falls down in the war dance, who retreats before a foe, or who is being beaten. It shows disapproval and conveys a sense of degradation, somewhat like the exclamation "Shame!" Some Thompson claim that it is the same call as that used to dogs when calling them to eat, and therefore the same as denouncing a person as a dog.

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